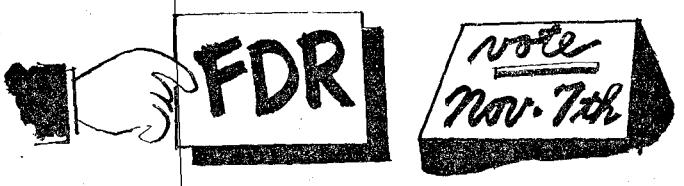
MEMO TO NM READERS:



NOVEMBER 7
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NEW MASSES

15¢
In Canada
20¢

MEET GRAND KLEAGLE WOLFE

DEWEY STALWART

by Virginia Gardner

ELECTION PREVIEW

OUTLOOK FOR NEW YORK *by Max Gordon*

CLIMAX IN CALIFORNIA *by Bruce Minton*

POLLING THE PULPIT *by Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman*

HOW THE NEGRO WILL VOTE *by Doxey A. Wilkerson*

UP HOOVER'S SLEEVE *by F. J. Meyers*

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

AND SO, within a few hurried days after you read this issue, the campaign will be over. The die will be cast. We assume, and rightly we're certain, that you will spare no hour, no iota of energy, these last few days. For even in the closing hours of this harrowing campaign a big job has to be done. Getting out the vote is what we're talking about. Let nobody rest easy because registration reached new peaks in many localities: it isn't a vote until that little lever is pulled in that booth. And your obligation is not ended with your own vote: you, NM reader, are the kind of American who sees to it that every neighbor, every acquaintance, every relative, does likewise.

We're certain, were there a machine capable of registering the total will of America, there would be no doubt of the results: Roosevelt would be in. But with millions disfranchised because they are in uniform (Dewey and his colleagues have seen to that) and because of the great wartime migrations, it has been a contest. Dewey has hoped to win by default: that was the basis of his strategy for a low vote. He has, to date, been checkmated by America's patriotism — the registration totals attest to that. But there is danger that some of those who helped bring out registration may think the battle won. It's not won until they bring out the vote.

And between now and poll time the Dewey political mobsters will use every trick in the book (*Mein Kampf*) to capture that vote. The rabid, scurrilous leaflets being officially distributed by the GOP indicates their technique. "Beware of Communism in the United States" the throw-away warns in glaring red letters, and goes hog-wild with the Goebbels technique: "True story of Hillman," "Why the Communists fear Dewey," etc., etc., ad nauseam. You may well rub your eyes and think you're in Berlin, but unhappily these Red-baiting, hate-rousing leaflets are being found in your own letterboxes. It is only one trick in their bag and the Hoover crowd will stop at nothing.

The entire community, we submit, must be alerted and forewarned of these tricks. That is where you come in. A word to the wise. . . .

ELSEWHERE in this issue we urge our readers in New York State to vote on the American Labor Party line and definitely not on the Liberal Party line. We here wish to briefly document the case against the misnamed Liberal Party. The core of the leadership of this outfit has been taken over from the Social Democratic Federation, a right-wing offshoot of the Socialist Party. The Social Democratic Federation publishes a weekly, the *New Leader*. A glance at some of the recent articles in this publication will indicate whether those in control of the Liberal Party are supporting the foreign policy of President Roosevelt or are, in fact, backing the Dewey-GOP foreign policy.

July 15 issue: a review by one of America's leading professional anti-Sovieteers, Eugene Lyons, of two books on the USSR. In the same issue appears another anti-Soviet article, "What Is Fate of Ukrainian Jewry?" by David Shub. (This issue also contains a front-page editorial which begins: "The *New Leader* is for Roosevelt in 1944—with reservations.")

July 22 issue: an article by Liston M. Oak, "Tito-Subasitch Regime not Representative," attacking Tito and defending Hitler's collaborator, Mikhailovich. In the same issue appear two anti-Soviet articles, one by Mark Aldanov and the other by Selig Perlman.

August 19 issue: anti-Soviet articles on the Warsaw uprising by Liston M. Oak and Ludwik Grosfeld.

September 9 issue: an article by Alexander Baird attacking the Bretton Woods international monetary conference. It is subtitled: "Will Uncle Sam Be the Sucker?" In the same issue Liston M. Oak writes glowingly of William C. Bullitt's recent pro-fascist article in *Life* which projects a war against the USSR fifteen years after the present war.

September 16 issue: William Henry Chamberlin, another fuehrer of the anti-Soviet journalistic front, also champions Bullitt. Chamberlin writes a regular weekly column for the *New Leader*: one guess as to his favorite subject.

This is a small sampling which does not begin to convey the anti-Soviet, anti-United Nations flavor that permeates every issue of this unofficial organ of the Liberal Party.

DUE to election day next Tuesday (our press day) you may get NM later than usual. Don't be surprised if you do.

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

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NEW MASSES
VOL. LIII NOVEMBER 7, 1944 NO. 6

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

In her first article, last week, Miss Gardner revealed the connections of the Indiana GOP state leadership with Klansmen and other native fascist groups. She interviewed many of the figures involved, including Robert W. Lyons, millionaire and former treasurer of the Klan in Indiana, who confessed his close friendship with Thomas E. Dewey. Lyons, who is the GOP boss in the state, had been a Republican national committeeman until, as he told Miss Gardner, he "stepped aside" so that there would be no "breath of scandal attaching to Governor Dewey." But that did not prevent him from manipulating GOP politics from behind the scenes. In contrast to his evasive generalities, Miss Gardner described the activities of the would-be lynch mob that sought recently, in Muncie, to terrorize Negroes, while the strongly Republican press which had helped incite the mob spirit blamed, without warrant, "industrial workers." She also revealed the close ties between GOP leaders and Court Asher, publisher of the hate-sheet, "X-Ray," who faces trial on US charges. These facts shed light on the effort of the Hearst press to smear Senator Truman with charges of Klan membership back in 1922. "That lie was nailed in 1922," Mr. Truman said, "and is now out in the same form." The Hearst treason press is clumsily striving to conceal their candidate's close relations with subversive groups by reversing the truth. The following article by Miss Gardner reveals further machinations of Indiana's GOP racists.—The Editors.

Indianapolis.

A MAN high in the councils of the Republican Party, though assuring me he did not believe the KKK was active in the Dewey campaign in Indiana, told me he had heard that "Colonel" Chester Paul Wolfe of Hammond was operating in the northern part of the state. Thereafter an official of the Democratic Party told me that "Colonel" Wolfe went about proudly proclaiming that he was the present Grand Kleagle of the Knights of the KKK in Indiana, and that he probably could be persuaded to show me his "commission" as Grand Kleagle.

Here is how I eventually reached "Colonel" Wolfe. I had a long distance operator call the Republican headquarters, Hammond 2111. I heard a Mr. Huffman tell her, "I haven't seen him in two or three days. He hasn't been in here for some time. He may be in, I don't know." I had her call the Dewey-Bricker Club's headquarters, Hammond 2233, but he wasn't there. However, she learned how to reach his wife at work. Mrs. Wolfe provided the unlisted home number.

I told "Colonel" Wolfe I was writing a story on the political situation in Indiana for NEW MASSES and wanted to get his viewpoints. "I understand you are the Grand Kleagle of the Klan in Indiana?" The "Colonel" said lightly, "No, I've been smeared by certain people, that's all."

"You mean to say you're not now in the Klan, or that you weren't in the old Klan?" I queried directly.

He cleared his throat and said querulously, "That's unimportant." Then he said something off the record about D. C. Stephenson, former Grand Kleagle who is in the Michigan City state prison for murder, and I clucked vaguely but sympathetically into the phone. "Do you know my age?" he said. "Well, I'm only forty-two, so I couldn't have been with the old Klan very long ago. Besides, didn't I marry a Catholic girl?" But he didn't say outright that he was not in the Klan.

"I am devoting virtually all of my time to the Dewey-Bricker Clubs," Wolfe said in reply to a question as to his campaign speeches. He was very happy to comment on the election. "I am for a change," he said sententiously, "—a good clean change. But I'm not holding any animosity," he added generously.

While I had been inquiring around about "Colonel" Wolfe I learned from Mayor John Hampton of Muncie that he hadn't campaigned there "since the last election—when he had some scheme for raising funds." The mayor recalled "seeing the 'colonel' get beaten up in a hotel lobby here—and I can't say it made me unhappy."

I asked Wolfe whom he was most anxious to elect. "Why, Dewey and Bricker, of course," he said. He conceded his own Lake County always went Democratic, but said Indiana would vote for Dewey by one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty thousand. "Indiana is a good, clean, healthy state. I am willing to abide by the electorate's choice," he pontificated.

"Do you know Robert W. Lyons?" I asked, alluding to the millionaire tax lobbyist and former KKK treasurer in Indiana who controls GOP machinery through his man, John Lauer, state chairman. Lyons didn't know Wolfe, but Wolfe knew Lyons. "I've known him for a good many years," said Wolfe, adding hastily, "but only through the American Legion, that is."

I had been told by a prominent Republican that Wolfe was said to have been connected with Sen. Gerald P. Nye (R., N.D.) and Gen. Robert E. Wood, former head of the America First Committee. "I know both those gentlemen," said Wolfe with dignity, "but I have no connections with them."

Was it true that he had been work-

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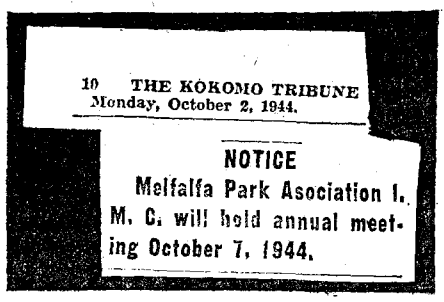

10 THE KOKOMO TRIBUNE
Monday, October 2, 1944.

NOTICE

Melfalfa Park Asociation I. M. C. will hold annual meeting October 7, 1944.

The notice above from the Kokomo "Tribune" announces a meeting without announcing time or place. Presumably members understood; the Melfalfa Association is a holding company of the Klan.

ing in the campaign with Walter Bossert? Bossert is an attorney of Liberty, Ind., one of the six former KKK leaders mentioned by Stephenson in a petition filed last month, and contributor of $750 to the Republican Party in Indiana in 1940. Elmer Bossert of Liberty gave another $750. "Why, Bossert and I haven't spoken in four or five years," Wolfe said, as if anyone should know.

I later talked to Senator Nye's secretary, Gerald Movius, and learned that the Senator was just as anxious to steer clear of the taint attaching to the name of Wolfe as Wolfe had been to disavow connections with Nye. The Senator had seen Wolfe only once or twice, and he, Movius, was with him when he met him for the first time last March. "It was a purely social occasion, when we were going through Chicago. I remember him because he was a bouncy, lively little fellow," he said. "The Senator's not connected with him in any way. I know what you're trying to do, sister, and it just won't stand up," he added.

"What do you think I'm trying to do?" I asked.

"You're trying to link the Senator with Wolfe's organization, and it can't be done," he said heatedly.

"What is his organization?" I asked.

"Don't you know who he is?" asked Movius. "He's with the KKK—at least, that's my understanding."

"I heard from someone prominent in the Republican Party that the Senator introduced Wolfe in Washington to certain people," I said.

"He introduces hundreds of people," he said. "I get tired of having the Senator walk down the street, and across the street there's some subversive character, and the next day they're sleeping in the same bed, some people would have it. We're not so bad as we're painted." He added that he didn't think much of NEW MASSES and how did I wind up with them? I was a lady, however, and refrained from the obvious rejoiner that no one who wound up with Senator Nye would have any other opinion.

"I'M VERY conscientious in this," the Rev. J. Walter Gibson, head of the Christian Action Committee, a militant pro-fascist outfit, told me. "We have to put Dewey in to keep our churches."

Gibson was brought back to Muncie by Lawyer Clarence Benadum, former KKK leader, and Court Asher, ex-"investigator" for Grand Kleagle Stephenson, to act as front for their CAC. Twice a week he exhorts a meager crowd of supposed sinners at Werts' Tabernacle, adjacent to Werts' tourist camp on Muncie's outskirts. I had gone to the tabernacle one Sunday night when, according to signs posted throughout Muncie's residential district, and placards in restaurants, Gibson was to speak. I watched the dollar bills fall into the collection plate, then presented myself to the retired minister to talk about CAC and the campaign for Dewey and against PAC.

I had been intrigued with Werts' Tabernacle, a brilliantly lighted elaborate glass and concrete affair converted from Fred W. Werts' airplane hangar on Yorktown pike, since a Muncie city official had told me, "I predict that after the election Muncie will become the national headquarters for America First, housed in Werts' Tabernacle, with Court Asher's paper its official organ."

Almost as soon as I mentioned CAC, Gibson said defensively, "They say the Christian Action Committee's the old Klan, but that's not so. Why, in my first speech I appealed to priests and rabbis as well as ministers, to save religion. Why, anyone can come to our meetings."

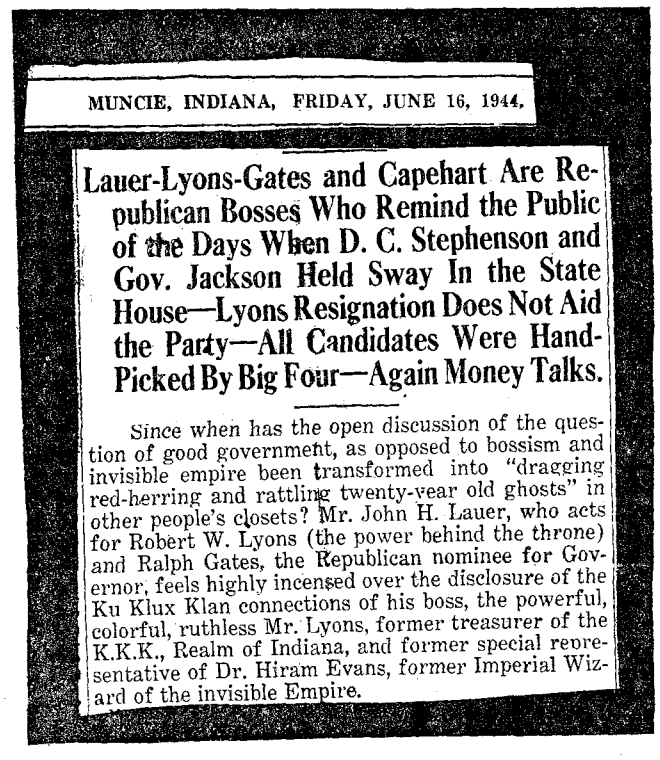
"Even Negroes?" I asked. "Oh yes," he said. (This was remarkable, since the meetings of CAC are held at the Roberts Hotel. It was at the Roberts I had attended a spirited meeting of some 150 CIO men and women at which a Negro, Frank Nelson, arose and said, "If anyone had told me six months ago I'd be dining at the Roberts Hotel, I wouldn't have believed it." It was the first time Negroes had been allowed there as guests, and that was only after the CIO white workers threatened to meet elsewhere if their colored brothers could not attend.)

"But surely when you were an orator for the Klan—and I think you went throughout the state as an organizer after you left your church here—you did so as a matter of conviction?" I asked Gibson. He did speak for the Klan, but he wasn't an organizer, he said. He mopped his face with a handkerchief. "And I never was against the colored people, or the Jews or Catholics." A sickly smile hovered about his face—as corrupt a face as I have ever seen. It was like ex-Klan treasurer and present GOP state boss Robert W. Lyons' telling me so sweetly all about how he met Booker T. Washington as a child and how he was brought up in an atmosphere of racial tolerance so that anything else was unthinkable to him.

"I'm a lot more worried about the things that's happening inside this country," said Gibson, "than those that's happening outside."

"Do you mean the war by 'the things happening outside'?"

"That's right," he said. And what was going on within the country of the same or more serious magnitude? he was asked. "Why, there's more of these here Communists in the country now than there was in Russia when they had the revolution," he said. He pronounced Russia as if it rhymed with "fuchsia."


MUNCIE, INDIANA, FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1944.

Lauer-Lyons-Gates and Capehart Are Republican Bosses Who Remind the Public of the Days When D. C. Stephenson and Gov. Jackson Held Sway In the State House—Lyons Resignation Does Not Aid the Party—All Candidates Were Hand-Picked By Big Four—Again Money Talks.

Since when has the open discussion of the question of good government, as opposed to bossism and invisible empire been transformed into "dragging red-herring and rattling twenty-year old ghosts" in other people's closets? Mr. John H. Lauer, who acts for Robert W. Lyons (the power behind the throne) and Ralph Gates, the Republican nominee for Governor, feels highly incensed over the disclosure of the Ku Klux Klan connections of his boss, the powerful, colorful, ruthless Mr. Lyons, former treasurer of the K.K.K., Realm of Indiana, and former special representative of Dr. Hiram Evans, former Imperial Wizard of the invisible Empire.

How the Muncie "Post-Democrat" views the activity of the Indiana GOP.

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Gibson had made quite a to-do praying over Werts, a short heavyset man with a huge diamond sparkling on his little finger. His pretty young wife appeared a little apprehensive at his being interviewed, but Werts, a wide smile on his thick lips, was amiable and expansive. He spoke proudly of being interviewed for a five-page article in the *Saturday Evening Post* which appeared May 13, 1939, entitled, "A Billion Nickels."

Werts, who in addition to the Muncie Tabernacle also owns one in Miami, Fla., both recent acquisitions, made a fortune in the Fred Werts Novelty Co., manufacturers of baseball pool lottery tickets, tip books and other gambling devices, widely distributed over the country. A few years ago he received wide publicity over a tax lien of more than $435,000 and a personal claim that he settled for $58,000 that was filed against his company by the federal government. No criminal intent was charged, and he compromised with the government for $131,000 in cash, in addition to the $58,000 settlement.

I asked Werts if Benadum was his attorney in the tax case. I was thinking of what I had been told, that Benadum had advised Werts he'd better get religion. I was trying to find some way of phrasing a question about this in a delicate way, when Werts, as if thinking aloud, began talking about getting saved.

"I told the Lord I'd do anything if he'd get me out of going to prison, and he did," he told me. He and his wife were leaving for their Florida home the next day. He talked a little of the campaign. I asked him if he ever attended slot machine conventions and if he ever met Homer Capehart, GOP nominee for Senator, who wants to be known as a phonograph manufacturer, not a juke box king. "Sure, I used to make slot machines. I'd run into him at the slot machine makers' conventions in Chicago [Coin Machines Industries, Inc.]. I didn't know him well," he said.

Gov. Henry Schricker, Capehart's opponent for Senator, told Muncie city authorities last summer that if they didn't close up the tip book joints, he would, and sent state police in to see that they were shut. Prior to that Muncie ran wide open. The floors of beer joints, which at first glance appeared to be sprinkled with sawdust, were covered with the paper bits from the books manufactured at the Werts Novelty Co.

What a crew, I thought on my way back to town. Behind the scenes, but the real movers of the CAC, I had learned, were Benadum and Asher. Out in front was Gibson, and Werts as an angel. Three of the four reeked with the Klan smell.

I had asked Benadum and Asher about their CAC's connection with Werts. "If Werts has anything to do with the Christian Action Committee, I'm out of it," said Asher sulkily.

"Court doesn't think Werts is sincere," said Benadum mildly, "but he is. He got religion all right."

Thus I heard moral judgment on the comparatively innocent Werts passed by these two notorious characters, both equally steeped in the minority-persecution practices of the KKK. One, Benadum, was the husband of the GOP vice chairman for the Tenth Congressional District. He was respected in the ranks of the GOP and among such large Indiana contributors as the wealthy Ball brothers, glass jar manufacturers, who with sisters and wives gave $10,500 in 1940 to the GOP. The other, Asher, consorted with George Ball and other big shots, according to his boast to the author of *Under Cover*. Asher told John Roy Carlson, the author: "George (Ball) is worth sixty million and a swell guy. I talk to him just as I'm talking to you now."

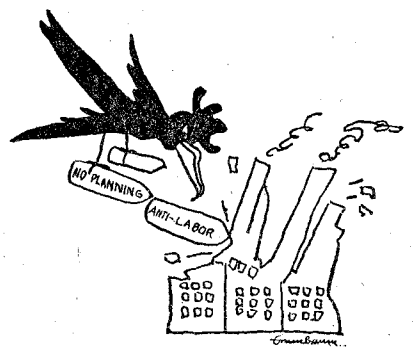
To me Asher bragged that "Ours is the number one committee [CAC]," but others had sprung up, and "our national head is a big-shot living just outside Detroit, and I don't mean Gerald L. K. Smith." Benadum had gone out of his way before Asher came in to tell me of his admiration for Charles E. Coughlin, the Royal Oak Goebbels. Did they hope to give the impression that Coughlin was behind CAC and thus remove the stigma of the KKK from the organization? It seemed incredible that any movement could seek respectability by some real or faked association with the pro-fascist priest. However, some persons may still consider him as representing the Catholic church despite the extraordinary limitations which were placed on him by his bishop.

Asher has not always been treated so kindly by the press as he is by the Muncie papers. A story in the Indianapolis *Times* of April 11, 1942, headed "Klan Plagues Indiana Again; US Disturbed," mentioned Asher, Felix McWhirter, the pal of Capehart, and Carl Mote, the Indiana utilities magnate, anti-Semite and associate of sev-

Is this your Congressman?

REP. CLUCK

LEGISLATES BY HATE



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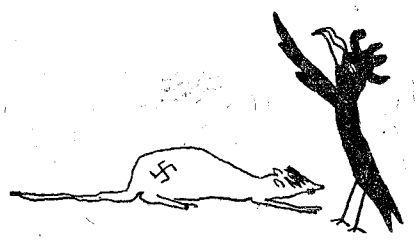

HEILS THE NAZIS

SO GIVE HIM THE BIRD

VOTE, NOVEMBER 7

CIO-PAC

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eral of the seditionists now on trial in Washington. Asher was described as "a one-time pal of Carl Losey," and both as "prominent in the old KKK days in the state." Losey, said the writer, "was the man who helped William Dudley Pelley organize his publications in Noblesville."

A story on Grand Kleagle Stephenson's trial in *Collier's* for Jan. 8, 1927, by William G. Shepherd, entitled "Indiana's Mystery Man," alludes to Stephenson as "the stranger" and says: "And I was talking to Court Asher about this stranger. . . . No one, perhaps, of all the witnesses knew more about this man than Court Asher. He was bodyguard to this stranger when the stranger was living in almost royal state at the height of his political power in a great house outside the city of Indianapolis. To Asher the mysterious stranger had trusted his life in the skies, for Asher had piloted a gayly decorated silver-nosed airplane in which the stranger flew about the state." Court Asher, he wrote anticlimactically, "has a record of having been fined for bootlegging."

Mary Benadum, the lawyer's wife, who is a GOP official, is another old Ku Klux Klan orator. Now Mary speaks for the GOP.

IT IS not easy to get information in Indiana—at least, information about subversive movements and events which may result in added votes for candidates Dewey and Bricker. One reason is the reluctance of any Republican to talk about having known any other Republican for any extensive period of years, for fear it will be assumed that it was knowledge gained through the Klan. When I asked Lyons if he had heard of Mary Benadum, he at first said, "Oh, I know Mary," then said, cagily, "At least, I just know her as a vice chairman of our Tenth Congressional District."

There are those in Indiana, including seasoned newspapermen who have observed Indiana politics for years, who will tell you that the Klan in Indiana never really died. A certain rudimentary organization was maintained, and figures for it vary. Fred Bays, Democratic state committee chairman, told me that he had reports that remnants of the Klan were active behind the Dewey-Bricker ticket, and that KKK meetings were being held here and there, secretly or under another name.

Rep. Ray Madden, a Democrat, of Gary, alluded to the deal whereby Lyons resigned as Republican national committeeman, Gates and Capehart remained as candidates, and the delegates were instructed to vote for Dewey. "Meanwhile the remnants of the Klan organization are working for the GOP, the old leaders of the KKK are on the payroll of the Republicans. They're waxing fat, as the slush funds are the greatest this state has known in years. It's the first money they've been able to get their hands on since Stephenson went to Michigan City. The deal is that if Gates gets in as governor, he'll pardon Stephenson. Stephenson is secretly working out of the penitentiary for the election of Gates and Capehart."

STEPHENSON'S petition for a new trial filed in the last two weeks reveals that a savage factional fight took place within the Klan over his indictment. He singles out Robert W. Lyons, present GOP boss of the state, for attack, accusing him of being party to a threat to kill him in the witness chair if he exposed the Klan in the proceedings. Stephenson appears to remember that threat in his petition: the Indiana Klan did a good job of keeping its membership secret and even in this factional fight very few names are exposed. In his petition Stephenson—with an evident eye toward a political comeback in case of his release—takes great pains to deal gently with the GOP: he charges Lyons with "attaching himself" to the "winning candidacy" of Governor Dewey. And Stephenson, the convicted murderer, strives to give Dewey a clean bill of health by referring to him as "the highly respectable and thoroughly honest governor of New York."

An authoritative source told me that the clubhouse at Mefalfa Park in Kokomo, still owned by the Ku Klux Klan of Indiana, was surveyed in the last few months by an investigator, and hundreds of white robes, and several crosses, found. His theory was that they were never destroyed and that they will be taken out again "if necessary," in the KKK terminology. Kokomo formerly was a red hot center of Klan activity. It was there, after a gigantic parade of Klansmen in robes and hoods, that Stephenson swooped down from the skies in a gilded airplane to accept office as Grand Dragon of the Realm of Indiana before the largest crowd in Kokomo history.

When I was in Kokomo I found an advertisement which had appeared a couple of weeks previous for the annual meeting of the Melfalfa Park Association. The hour and place were not given, but it is assumed that the remaining members of the KKK saw the ad and knew where to get their information.

Some of the voices raised in behalf of the GOP ticket in Indiana have a familiar ring. The extremely reactionary, and colorful, former US Sen. James E. Watson urged Indianapolis lawyers to "elect Republicans who will bring law and order back into the government." Dewey, he said, is "the man who can bring us out of this mess."

Let's examine former Senator Watson a moment. Here is some of the damaging testimony before the Reed senatorial committee during the 1926 senatorial race in Indiana, given by a William M. Rogers:

"Mr. Watson said . . . 'So you have been organizer for the Klan?'

" 'Yes, sir.'

"He says, 'Have you your credentials?'

"I says, 'I have,' and presented that identical card [alluding to exhibit]. And he in turn says, 'Well, I have one similar to that,' and he took it from his pocket and I looked at it. . . ."

The Senator, when told of this testimony, said, "It's an infamous lie," according to *Collier's* which, in its Jan. 8, 1927, issue ran an article entitled, "Did Senator Watson Have a Super-Secret Klan Card?" Rumors I had heard in Indiana that Lyons and Watson broke with Stephenson and teamed up with Hiram Wesley Evans, Imperial Wizard of the KKK, appear substantiated at least in part by a book, *The Mad Mullah of America*, by Edgar Allen Booth, an active Klan member who wrote the book from the viewpoint of one faction in the Klan.

THE figures, little and big, who are or were linked with subversive movements and who are now working overtime for Dewey's election, the reactionary press of Muncie which fed the fires of race hatred and plumped for Dewey, the terrorizing of Negro citizens: all this forms only one aspect of Indiana. There are plenty of exciting and healthy things happening in that great state. The growingly mature labor movement is fighting the menace of Court Asher; it is fighting race discrimination. It has the Klansmen's number.

Indiana is called a pivotal state and Hoosiers like to tell you that it is as typically American as any state in the Union. It is characteristic of a border

(*Continued on page* 30)

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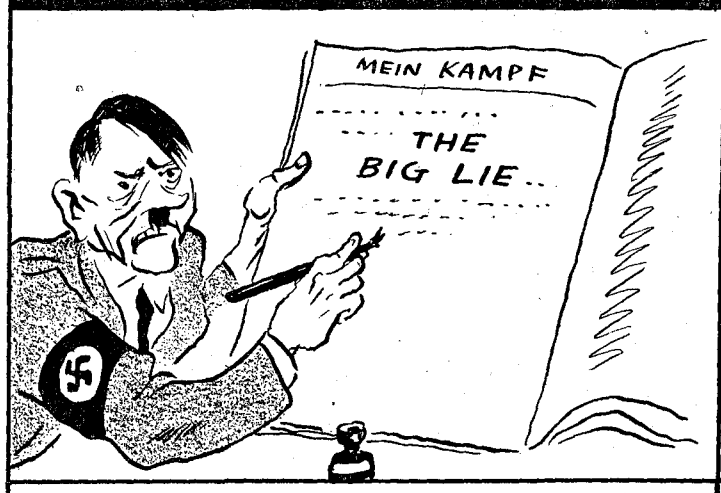

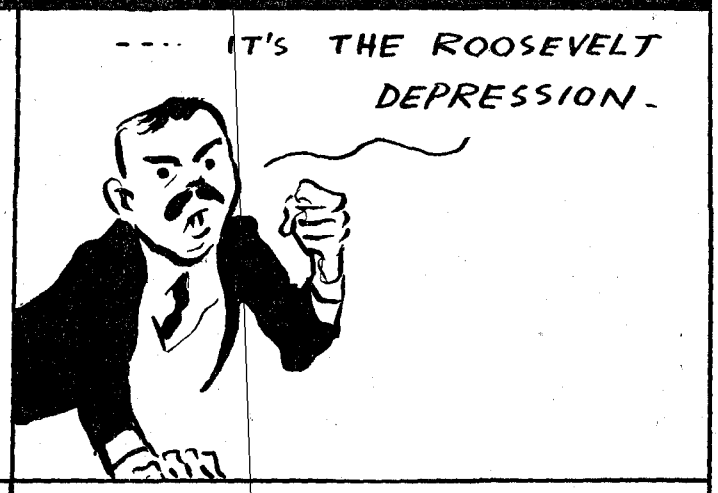

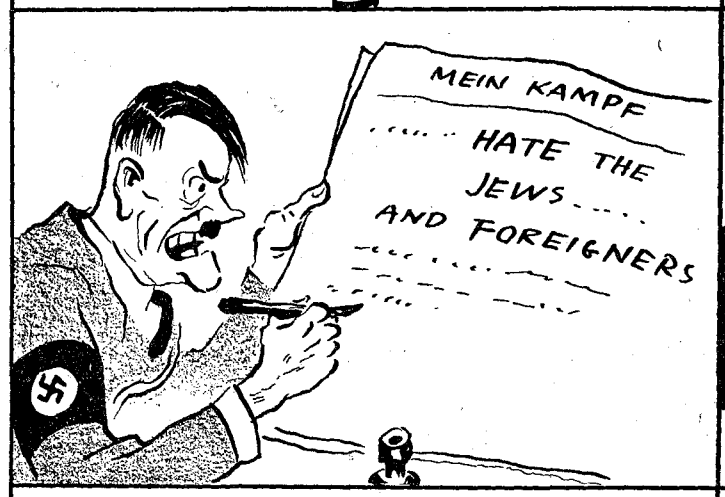

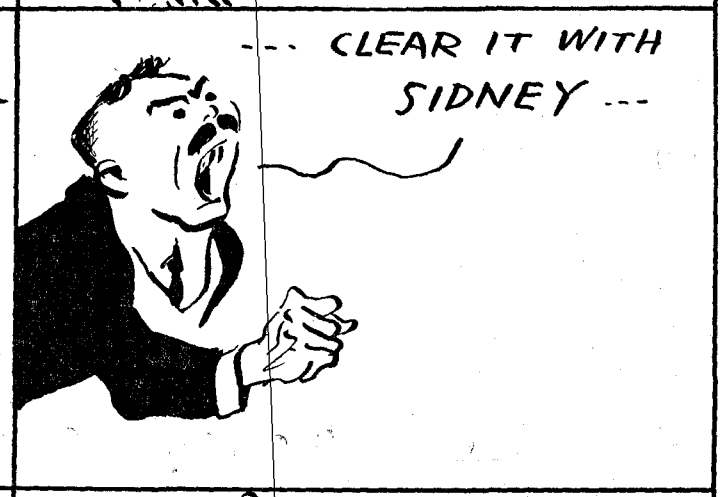

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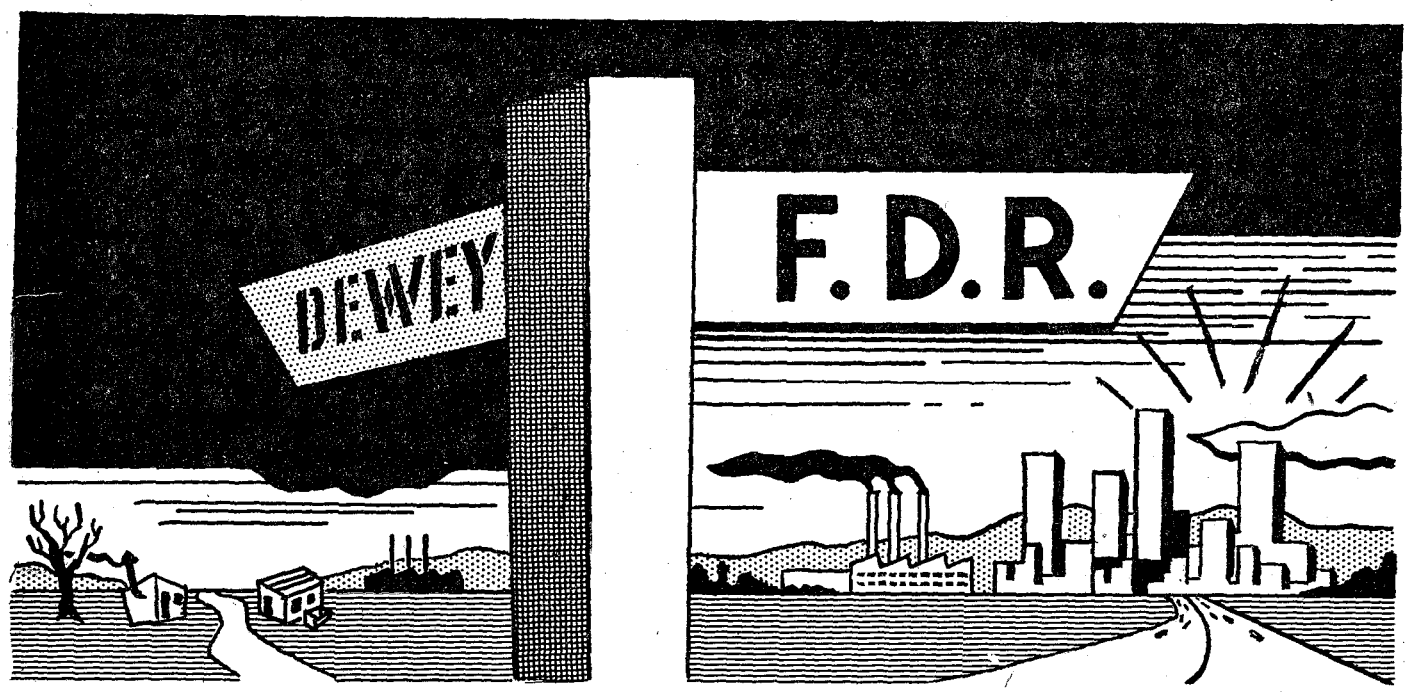

OUTLOOK FOR NEW YORK

By MAX GORDON

THE arithmetic of the New York electoral picture indicates that President Roosevelt ought to carry the state, but there is no certainty he will. It is a bit difficult to tell just how the total vote in the state will shape up as compared with 1940, because over fifty percent of the upstate voters—those living in communities under 5,000 and on farms—do not have to register personally. It would be fair to assume, however, that the rural vote this year will decline in about the same proportion as the decline in the urban upstate registration, which was a little over nine percent. Assuming that, and adding an estimated 420,000 soldier ballots actually cast to the personal registration figures for the entire state, the total vote in New York State may be only about 50,000 less than the record vote of 6,298,346 cast four years ago. This is also assuming that there will be the same unusually high proportion of registrants actually voting this year as voted in 1940. Considering the rather drastic drop in population in the state as the result of recruitment into the armed forces and the exodus of many voters to other war industry areas, the figures indicate high interest in the elections.

The starting point for election predictions and postmortems in state politics is the relationship of the New York City vote to the upstate vote. The two are fairly evenly balanced, with the city having a somewhat larger turnout in presidential years, and the upstate area having the bigger vote in purely state elections. The city vote is generally slightly better than sixty percent Democratic and American Labor in state and national contests, while the upstate vote has also fluctuated in the past around sixty percent for Republican candidates.

From that angle, the President would seem to have all the better of it this year since the high turnout for the state as a whole is due almost entirely to a remarkable civilian registration in New York City and to an extremely high soldier vote, which will also be heavily pro-FDR. In 1940, New York City registered 3,390,460 voters. Of these, ninety-five percent, or 3,226,100, cast valid ballots. This was a phenomenal turnout of registered voters. As a rule, only about ninety percent of those who register turn up at the polls in the city. This year the civilian registration is 3,227,751. Some 365,000 soldier ballot applications have been received and a conservative estimate of the city's soldier vote is 260,000. If ninety-five percent of the registrants turn up again at the polls on November 7, the city will cast about 3,326,000 ballots all told, or just about 100,000 more than in the last presidential election.

Upstate, the registration figures in sixty-five cities and communities having personal registration fell off from 1,501,339 in 1940 to 1,363,117. This is a loss of 138,222. If we figure a comparable drop in the remaining upstate areas, the total civilian decline upstate will be about 300,000. About 160,000 soldier ballots are expected. The overall loss in the upstate vote as compared with four years ago may thus run around 140,000.

The city vote was 160,000 greater than the upstate vote in the 1940 contest. Adding the possible increase of 100,000 and the drop of 140,000 upstate, the difference may run as high as 400,000 this year. If the city should hold to the sixty-one percent for the President it gave him in 1940, Dewey would have to get sixty-three percent of the vote in the upstate area to win the state. This would be five percent better than Willkie did there. In 1942, however, Dewey got 65.5 percent of the upstate vote, while Lt. Gov. Joe R. Hanley hit close to sixty-eight percent in his special election campaign last year. Neither of the latter two figures is indicative of the vote that will be cast this year, but they do demonstrate the strength of the GOP machine.

SO MUCH for the figures. As far as the pro-FDR backers are concerned, they indicate the following:

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1. The necessity for getting out the maximum vote on Election Day. For the city this is obvious. The larger the vote, the larger will be the President's margin. But it is equally true upstate where constant experience has shown that the larger the vote the smaller the GOP percentage.

2. The necessity for fighting to increase the President's percentage in New York City and keeping down Dewey's margin upstate.

This second point presents some specific problems. It has been noted that in New York City, for example, there has been some defection in Roosevelt support among foreign-born Italian workers. This is attributed chiefly to the hardships suffered by the people in the liberated areas of Italy, which Italians here tend to blame on the President. Roosevelt supporters note, however, that these hardships are the result of nine years of war and a year of Nazi occupation brought about by Mussolini. This has left the nation impoverished. The President has been moving to remedy the situation. Since most Italians are workers with a strong labor consciousness, many of those who have wavered are being won back also through discussion of national issues, specifically the contrast between the President's policies and Dewey's Hooverism. The anti-foreign born campaign being waged by the GOP is also bringing many back to the Roosevelt fold.

A strong positive factor is the overwhelmingly pro-Roosevelt sentiment of the Negro people. It is estimated that over eighty percent are pro-FDR, reflecting both a national trend and the specific reaction of state residents toward the tricky machinations of Governor Dewey on the issue of Negro rights.

Upstate, a major problem confronting the supporters of the President has been to emphasize the nonpartisan character of the campaign. The problem has been tackled through the labor movement, which includes, of course, large numbers of Republican workers, and through the organization of Republican and independent committees for Roosevelt. Such committees, including prominent members of the GOP, are active in Buffalo and Rochester, in Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk counties, and elsewhere.

In the countryside, a Farmers-for-Roosevelt Committee has been quite active. It represents probably the first real effort to reach large sections of the farmers with the Roosevelt program since FDR became President. Chairman is Ralph Y. DeWolfe, a Republican farmer from Madison County who headed the State War Board until recently and before that was chairman of the State Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Members include local farm leaders from all over the state.

The labor movement upstate, working through the political action committees of the CIO and AFL, and through the American Labor Party, has had some success in winning Republican workers to support FDR.

The nonpartisan nature of the campaign has also been reflected in the organization of Republican and independent committees for Roosevelt in many neighborhoods in New York City. Some of these committees are composed of middle class and white collar people who have no connection with the labor movement and who are not interested in party politics. Throughout the state, support given to Roosevelt by such prominent Republicans as Walter Lippmann, and Sen. Joseph Ball and Richard B. Scandrett—who was Dewey's running mate in 1938 as candidate for Congressman-at-Large—has given impetus to the nonpartisan movement.

The city's labor movement did a magnificent job both in the shops and in the neighborhoods in getting out the registration. While the CIO Council concentrated its activity largely in the shops, as did several AFL outfits, the American Labor Party built an election district apparatus that virtually blanketed the city and reached a large part of the population. That apparatus has now been strengthened by the addition of unionists and is working to get every voter out and to win over the hesitant.

As AGAINST this independent activity, the Republicans have the most powerful machine in decades at their disposal both upstate and in New York City. The GOP machine demonstrated its strength during the registration period when it got huge turnouts of voters in the Republican districts, both in the city and upstate. Democratic leaders claim that this is a result of a shifting of workingclass population from low-rent areas to better homes rather than an increase in GOP strength. While there is truth in this, it is not the whole story.

The Democratic organization, starved through lack of state and city patronage, is in far weaker shape. In some upstate areas it scarcely exists. There have been some defections among Farleyites in posts of district leadership. Manhattan, for instance, has some notorious anti-Roosevelt district leaders like Dennis Mahon and John A. Buckley, who led the fight in Tammany against support to FDR.

Pro-Roosevelt leaders are fearful that with the state apparatus in GOP hands, the Republicans are not above chicanery in areas where the Democrats are too weak to do much about it. Thus, in the rural areas, the registration books contain the names of people who have moved out, died, or gone into the armed services. There are already rumors afloat that Republican leaders in some counties are licking their chops at the prospect of voting these people.

The American Labor Party has been able to fill in some of the gaps in New York City left by Democratic defections and has been cooperating with the pro-FDR Democratic organizations in most districts to get out the vote for the President. Upstate, while considerably stronger than in the past, the ALP is not as yet a very powerful organization. The ALP vote this year is likely to be

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HERE is what the New York "Herald Tribune," which is supporting Governor Dewey, wrote about Sen. Robert A. Taft, generally considered the most powerful Republican in the Senate, from whom Dewey solicited a testimonial that he will support a genuine policy of international collaboration to prevent future war. The "Herald Tribune's" characterization was contained in an editorial on October 6, 1943.

". . . anything emanating from Senator Taft having to do with the prosecution of the war should be suspect. Beginning with the revision of our neutrality laws after the invasion of Poland, to permit us to ship weapons and munitions to belligerents, this partisan politician has consistently opposed first the defense and then the war program of the administration at every step. He voted against neutrality revision and against the selective service act. He voted to limit the use of our armed forces to the Western Hemisphere. He opposed lend-lease, the extension of the training period for servicemen, the armed-ship bill, the ship-seizure bill, the second lend-lease bill. His slate is clean of any cooperation to prepare his country to meet the challenge of the Axis . . . long ago he adopted the role of obstructionist from which he shows no intention of deviating."

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of considerable importance both in national and state politics. With all the attacks made upon Sidney Hillman by Social Democrats and Deweyites for allying himself with "left wing" unions in the ALP, that party's vote will be studied with great interest to gauge the effect of the Red-baiting propaganda directed against it. The test is not altogether a fair one since much of the energy of the ALP has been spent in getting out the vote for Roosevelt and Senator Wagner irrespective of party. Conclusions will, nevertheless, be drawn on the basis of the size of the vote.

LABOR'S future political influence in state politics will also be partly determined by the size of the ALP vote. This is especially true since the Liberal Party is now in the field, possibly threatening the ALP's position as a balance-of-power. The Liberal Party was organized by David Dubinsky, International Ladies Garment Workers Union president, and his Social Democratic followers. It represents an attempt by extreme anti-Soviet, Red-baiting elements to build themselves a political base after their policies were defeated in the American Labor Party. They have managed to attract a few liberals, but the bulk of their leaders and members are made up of Trotskyite-influenced intellectuals and Social Democrats of the *New Leader* and Jewish *Daily Forward* stripe. The party is backing Roosevelt in the elections and has spent huge sums on radio time, posters, newspaper advertisements, leaflets, and letters. Much of this, however, has been directed not at winning non-Roosevelt voters to support the President but at getting ALP members and other progressives to vote for the Liberal Party.

One of the major political problems in the state is the campaign to reelect Senator Robert F. Wagner. Many supporters of this veteran fighter for labor and progressive measures believe his record is enough to clinch victory. He is being made the victim, however, of one of the worst doublecross maneuvers New York politics has seen for some time. Certain reactionary clerical elements have been able to influence a number of Democratic district leaders to throw their support, quietly of course, to the GOP candidate, Thomas J. Curran. Curran, a narrow, bigoted reactionary, is Governor Dewey's secretary of state and leader of the Manhattan Republican organization.

The Wagner doublecross has also extended to certain sections of the AFL. Through intimidation and subtle bribery the Dewey-Curran forces succeeded in getting the state leadership of the AFL to take a "nonpartisan" attitude toward the Senate race despite an overwhelming demand by the AFL membership for Wagner. Most city bodies have endorsed the Senator, as have state councils of particular unions and innumerable locals. While the state AFL leadership didn't dare endorse Curran, the building trades council in New York City did. Dewey has a hold over a few building trades officials, notably James Bove of the Laborers and Joseph Fay of the Operating Engineers, who have been indicted for various offenses but not tried. This has been used to force through the Curran endorsement. It was, however, powerless to prevent an endorsement for FDR in all AFL circles. The reelection of Sen. Wagner will thus require special efforts.

As far as Congress is concerned, chief interest is centered on the contest in the 29th congressional district, where independent Republicans, Democrats and Laborites have united behind Augustus W. Bennet, a Republican, to oust Rep. Hamilton Fish. Fish will run on the regular Republican ticket and on an independent ticket. Bennet is running on the "Good Government" ticket, which was set up by anti-Fish Republicans, and on the Democratic, American Labor and Liberal Party lines. Since he received forty percent of the vote in the GOP primaries against Fish, he is accorded a fair chance to win.

In the Buffalo, Rochester, and Schenectady areas there is some chance of defeating four or five incumbent reactionary GOP congressmen or candidates and replacing them with pro-FDR men. In New York City, it is likely that one of the two Republican congressmen will be defeated. Reapportionment, however, has cut out four Democratic districts in Manhattan and added three to Queens, two of which may go Republican. On the whole, therefore, there is a chance to effect some improvement in the state congressional delegation, which has been none too good.

New York, because of its forty-seven electoral votes, is the most important of all key states in this election. Only once in recent presidential contests has a candidate lost New York and still won a majority of the electoral votes. The loss of New York would, however, be more damaging to Dewey than to Roosevelt —in fact, without New York a GOP victory would be extremely unlikely. The fact that New York is a doubtful state therefore makes it all the more urgent that in the last few days before November 7 a tremendous drive be organized to get out the maximum FDR vote.

CLIMAX IN CALIFORNIA

By BRUCE MINTON

Los Angeles.

WITHOUT falling into the trap of easy optimism by claiming California is "in the bag" for President Roosevelt, at this late date it looks as if Dewey will go down to statewide defeat in November. I do not think the outlook for California can necessarily be accepted as the pattern for the nation. Yet California, with its twenty-five electoral votes, is undoubtedly one of the significant states, and it is imperative to win this state for President Roosevelt if the nation is to strike out in the direction of progress during the next four years. The problem in California is to win by a large majority and to elect congressional candidates who will support the administration's forward-looking policies.

To say that California will cast a majority for Roosevelt is to say very little. The intensive campaign work until November 7 must be done in the precincts. For the most part, the results of the congressional contests are still anyone's guess. This is a vast state, which divides itself into two almost distinct units, north and south, and I can give no report on the state as a whole. But Los Angeles county is still the key so far as the vote for President and Senator goes. About half the population of the state now lives here. If the county supports Roosevelt by a good-sized majority (and the San Francisco bay area also gives Roosevelt an edge), these votes will offset any reverses in the farm areas.

In the San Francisco region, labor is

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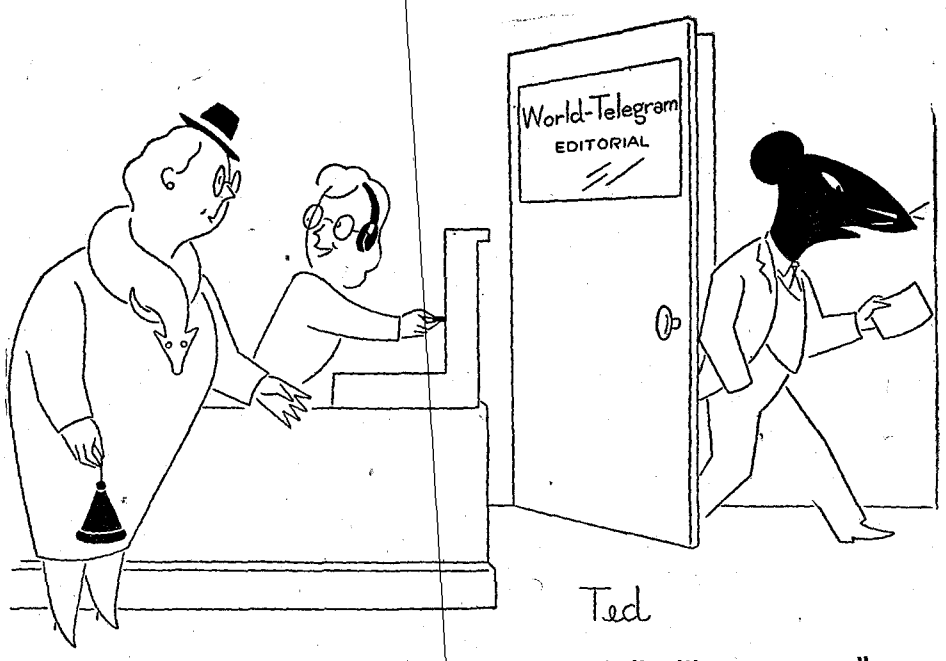
well-entrenched, well-organized, alert, and active. Registration has been satisfactory. San Francisco is an older, more staid and grown-up and sophisticated community than Los Angeles; even with the influx of new industrial workers into shipyards and other industries, there seems no good reason to expect any startling upset in the bay area. Election work has been steady and intelligent; President Roosevelt will pretty surely roll up a tidy majority.

Los Angeles county is something else again. It has grown overnight into the third or fourth largest metropolitan area in the country, yet it is unlike any other city. Imagine a metropolitan district containing within it a farming region which for its size produces the highest value of produce in the nation—citrus, truck farming, and dairy. Imagine a metropolitan community which includes stretches of desert, miles of rich farm land, a bevy of little villages, countless empty fields. Innumerable districts in the county bear little relation to the rest of the city: Hollywood has its motion-picture industry; Burbank, Inglewood, Hawthorn, and Glendale have their huge aircraft plants (separated in some places one from the other by thirty miles); Pasadena has its industrial workers and its silk-stocking districts; San Pedro has the great shipyards; the "downtown" district, hard to reach because the transportation system in the county is unbelievably inefficient and badly organized, has its skyscrapers and metropolitan bustle. Los Angeles county is not really a unit at all, but a huge, sprawling conglomeration of small town and large city, industry, banks, and agriculture, big business and tiny business, suburban areas, country estates, and tenements all held together by a name and not much else.



"Oh, no, that's Frederick Woltman. Mr. Pegler isn't with us any more."

YET this area since 1934 has been the breeding ground for a slough of independent and fluid political groupings. This is the homeland of the Epic movement, the Utopians, the Townsend and Ham-and-Egg groups, the happy hunting grounds of technocrats and of all sorts of political faddism. The war has of course affected this locality profoundly. The already rapidly growing population has been swelled precipitously by the influx of industrial workers, by Negroes from the South and Mexicans from across the border, now employed in the new and immense shipyards and airplane plants. Unionization, formerly slow to make progress in this stronghold of the open shop, has leaped ahead, with both the CIO and AFL making enormous gains in the last five years. The political tone of the community has been influenced; and President Roosevelt has given direction to much of the floundering, vaguely "radical" inclinations of the people. Today, the majority in Los Angeles county, with its huge and diversified population, looks to the President for leadership and orientation.

The proof of this has been the response to registration, now completed. It is estimated that from 1,800,000 to 2,000,000 have registered, which exceeds 1940 by from one to two hundred thousand. The gain has been largely on the Democratic side. Interest in the election is intense; besides, this is a "meeting town," as they say, and political rallies have been filled to overflowing everywhere. I talked to a city councilman out in Inglewood who on his own initiative set up a local Democratic headquarters in a trailer because he "was sick and tired of seeing Dewey stickers and buttons"; he told me that all one had to do was put up a poster for a political get-together and the people of his community would turn out in droves. This holds true throughout the area.

There is, however, a misleading quality to these rallies; a good deal of the crowd is quite often merely curious to hear the other side, or to see the show, or to listen to some "speechifying." When Dewey came to town, he packed 90,000 into the Coliseum. One had to listen to the radio advertisements for the meeting to get a line on the crowds: the radio brayed for days that movie stars would be present (and no people anywhere are so intrigued by movie stars as the people right here in Los Angeles); and the radio also promised a first-rate Wild West show. Dewey's name was mentioned casually, with surprisingly little stress. The Republicans know their Los Angeles. Actually, the crowd saw a pretty good circus, though a great many of the movie personalities promised by the Republicans failed to show up and this annoyed the spectators. There were some performing elephants, and a little man with a moustache was driven around under spotlights in a cream-colored roadster. This little man turned out to be the Republican candidate for President. He made a long speech, which was tepidly applauded, about how he was for the New Deal. When he finished, the crowd lingered on to see the rest of the show and had to be pushed out of the Coliseum. The Republican claque was very enthusiastic, but the majority of people felt they had been let down because more and better acts did not materialize. The show's the thing out here, and Dewey was neither funny enough to compete with the live elephants, nor dramatic enough to warrant the long journey to and from the stadium. He didn't even sing.

For his part, Norman Thomas managed to get 1,500 people to listen to him. He attacked President Roosevelt and dressed up his reactionary program in appetizing terms. But he was also something of a frost, because his audience—again with the exception of the organizing nucleus—felt he had no right to condemn the war and the administration for prosecuting it wholeheartedly. Things perked up when Secretary

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Soriano

"Be careful, dear, it might be the Governor."

Ickes came to town, providing excitement and setting people to talking, even though the Los Angeles *Times* and the Hearst press disapproved. The talk went back into the shops and plants and shipyards. The result was heavy registration favoring the Democrats.

LABOR is working hard for Roosevelt. There are weak spots in the campaign, even now, particularly in those airplane plants where the disciples of the brothers Reuther are active; the United Automobile Workers has not brought the election into some important plants as intensively as it could have done with better organization and less factional bickering. The CIO has been active in the Negro districts. The Democratic Party could learn much from the Republicans, who have worked hard and consistently among the Negro people. On the whole, however, both the CIO and AFL—with the Railroad Brotherhoods doing their share—have put in good election work. Even the Republicans privately admit that Los Angeles county looks safely—and with a healthy margin—in the Roosevelt camp.

But when it comes to breaking down the area into congressional districts, the picture is less definite. In this community, the Democratic congressional candidates are exceptionally able; none of them are old-line machine hacks, and most of them are healthily progressive and pro-Roosevelt. With only one exception, the nine Democratic congressional candidates have campaigned as out-and-out supporters of the President, thus enhancing the strength of the national ticket. Senator Sheridan Downey, who benefits from the Roosevelt sentiment in the state, has done a good job building that sentiment; he will almost surely be reelected. The desire of the unions and other administration supporters is to increase the size of the Los Angeles county congressional delegation clearly supporting the administration on both foreign and domestic issues. Cecil R. King is fortunately assured of reelection, since he won the nomination in both the Democratic and Republican primaries. Jerry Voorhis has a good chance, though he has made things difficult for himself by running his campaign in something of a vacuum, refusing to link it with the Roosevelt campaign (despite the fact that he claims to be an ardent Roosevelt supporter), or with Downey, or with the Democratic state assembly candidates in his district, or with congressional candidates in neighboring districts. Voorhis, a former Dies Committee member who has become vastly impressed with himself as a brave young statesman, though his record in Congress has been at best confused, has hurt his chances by isolating himself from the rest of the ticket.

On the other hand, Chet Holifield, with a good congressional record, is considered certain of reelection. Both Ellis Patterson and Helen Gahagan Douglas, who will replace the retiring Democrats Thomas Ford and Will Rogers, have a better than even chance of beating their Republican opponents. But with victory in each of the above-named contests, the delegation from Los Angeles county has still not increased its pro-Roosevelt composition. The stiff fights take place in the remaining districts, the ones that will help change the tone of Congress.

The candidates with tough opposition ahead are Ned Healy, Hal Styles, Clyde Doyle, and Archibald Young. Only Ned Healy is given a fifty-fifty chance at the present moment, but that means little, for in the remaining four weeks, Young and Doyle are expected to develop real strength that can well bring them out ahead in the final count over their ultra-reactionary opponents—the present incumbents, Ward Johnson and Clyde Hinshaw. Hal Styles ran into trouble when the Hearst paper "exposed" his former membership in the Klan; Styles produced some documents which he said proved that he had entered the Klan to debunk it, and subsequently had written articles attacking the Klan in the now defunct New York *Graphic*. The charges and counter-charges confuse the campaign: the Hollywood Democratic Committee quietly withdrew its endorsement of Styles on the grounds that the accusations weakened the Roosevelt ticket, antagonized the Negro people, and alienated other groups, particularly Jewish, Catholic, and foreign-born voters. But Styles must still be credited with having beaten John Costello in the primaries, and Costello was one of the most vicious Dies-men in the House. Styles has already done his share in the campaign; whatever his fate in the November elections, he has contributed heavily to a progressive Congress; and it should be remembered that his opponent, Gordon McDonough, has a shameful record in the state assembly and nothing to recommend him for office except his passion for cutting unemployment relief wherever possible.

Ned Healy's campaign is of greater interest. He can win, and if he ousts the present incumbent, Norris Poulson, Healy will have contributed heavily to the war effort and to a just peace. Poulson is a man who should be given full credit for harboring deep anti-Semitic prejudices, and for allowing his racism to be reflected in former (and in the present) campaigns. Moreover, Mr. Poulson has a contemptible voting record in Congress, he is violently anti-labor, and a proficient Red-baiter. He has dragged into his campagn against Healy every Red-scare device perfected by Hitler. His campaign posters are simplicity itself; they state baldly: "Reelect Norris Poulson—Opposed by the CIO Political Action Committee." That's all. Mr. Poulson may be digging his own grave. The fact that Healy is an outspoken progressive, a hard campaigner, and a frank supporter of FDR, may help push Mr. Poulson into that grave.

It is worth noting that the Dewey-Republican forces have decided to rely on Red-baiting in this community. The posters for Dewey and Bricker bear the legend: "End Government that 'Clears

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Everything' with Sidney." The local Republicans are frothing against the PAC; against "President Roosevelt's war," against Earl Browder, against "revolution," against organized labor. Red-baiting is always a menace, and it still has the effect of muddling the thinking of certain middle-class people and of the unorganized among the workers. But with the advent of this Red-baiting drive, an interesting incident occurred. The Democratic Party had decided against issuing Roosevelt buttons for the campaign because of the waste of materials. The Dewey cohorts slung buttons by the thousands all over the city. The answering demand for Roosevelt buttons from workers, storekeepers, and just plain "people," was so insistent that the Democrats hurriedly issued 100,000 buttons. They were used up instantly. The Democrats now find it difficult to keep supply up to demand.

I visited quite a few Democratic neighborhood headquarters. All of them report mounting community interest in the election. The difficulty in the neighborhoods is that workers are on the job such long hours these days that it is hard for precinct captains to get sufficient aid properly to cover their territories. The Republicans seem to get more volunteers from the higher income brackets who don't have to stay on the job so continually. But even with this handicap, Democratic local workers are confident that on November 7 the Republicans will play second fiddle. For in each locality, the person in charge of local Democratic headquarters stresses that his neighbors are interested in three issues: (1) postwar employment (with aircraft, shipyard, and contributing industries employing ninety percent of the working population, unless reconversion is handled in an orderly and intelligent manner, three-quarters of those now employed will be out of jobs at the end of the war); (2) a lasting peace; and (3) Roosevelt, his policies, and his perspectives. That is a hard combination to beat with Red-baiting or with a little man flaunting a moustache who bores the life out of most people tuning in on him on the radio. Of course, Gov. John Bricker is coming to town. He may change a lot of people's minds. The Democrats, however, have been considering the idea of hiring the Coliseum and letting the maximum number of people see and hear Bricker. The Democrats seem to feel that Bricker makes votes right and left—for Roosevelt.

HOW THE NEGRO WILL VOTE

By DOXEY A. WILKERSON

THE enlightened policies of three Roosevelt administrations have developed a new relationship of interdependence between the urgent democratic needs of the nation and the special freedom goals of the Negro people. Both are at stake in the November elections—and the votes of Negro Americans will decisively influence the future not only of their own freedom and security, but in large measure that of the entire country and the world. The fact that this is so is a measure of the recent and profound change which has come about in the relations of the Negro people to the rest of the nation.

For nearly six decades prior to the first Roosevelt administration the controlling (not the true) interests of America ran counter to the democratic strivings of the Negro people. The brief and promising period of people's democracies which emerged in the South following the Civil War was brought to a premature end by the first Republican betrayal of the Negro people and the nation. In return for southern support for the candidacy of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, the "Party of Lincoln" turned traitor to the democratic goals for which Lincoln struggled, withdrew federal troops from the South, and abandoned the Negro people and their "poor white" allies to the tender mercies of the former slave-holding Confederates. Thus did the Republicans usher in an extended period during which the dominant historical trends operated to prevent the integration of Negroes into the economic, political, and social life of America.

With the old planter class restored to complete control, there followed a period of KKK-lynching and other forms of intimidation, "legal" and extra-legal disfranchisement, and the universal extension of Jim Crowism, all "justified" by the most widespread and systematic campaign of "white supremacy" propaganda the nation has ever seen. As a result, by the turn of the century the millions of once free Negro Americans had been pushed back into a state of semi-serfdom but little removed from their former status of slavery.

This subordinate position of the Negro in our society remained fairly well "stabilized" until the first World War, when the needs of wartime industry—coupled with the promise of greater freedom—caused one and two-thirds million southern Negroes to migrate to the great cities of the North. There followed a brief period of enlarged participation by Negroes in the economic, political, and social life of the country. But the hopeful prospect then born was rudely shattered by the postwar depression, and was virtually demolished by the great crisis of 1929 under Hoover.

The presidential elections of 1932 found the masses of Negro people hopelessly impoverished, subjected to a new wave of lynch terror in the South, Jim Crowed almost everywhere in the North, and largely excluded from the labor movement and from any effective participation in the civic and political life of the country. Few besides the small and isolated group of Communists and their sympathizers were then willing to stand and fight for full citizenship for the Negro people. *The Negro's struggles for full democratic rights had been decisively rejected by the dominant forces in our society; and it seemed of little concern to the nation as a whole that nearly 12,000,000 Negro Americans faced the immediate future without even the perspective of progressive social change.*

Under the national leadership of President Roosevelt this oppressive trend has been sharply reversed. The new trend now dominant (although by no means universally expressed) is toward furthering the progressive extension of Negro participation in the life of our American democracy.

First, there came the period of the "New Deal," when the economic chaos left by the "do-nothing" policies of Hooverism began to be relieved by a bold and comprehensive program of federal action to raise the living standards of the common man. Unemployment relief, public works, public health, and housing, adult education, school build-

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ing construction, agricultural adjustment, farm and home security, youth projects—these effective steps toward the restoration of economic security for the masses of all Americans created the fundamental preconditions for any substantial change in the relations of the Negro people to the rest of our society. During the early 1930's there could have been no possibility of substantial progress toward Negro democratic rights without increased economic security for the great masses of white Americans.

In addition to relieving the economic plight of the nation as a whole, and thereby of millions of destitute Negro families, these early programs of the Roosevelt administration introduced a new and tremendously important principle of federal policy—*the principle that Negro citizens should share equitably in the benefits of social programs administered by the federal government.* This principle of no discrimination on grounds of race found explicit expression in the administrative policies of most of the New Deal agencies; and despite strenuous opposition, serious effort was made to enforce this policy, even in the South. As a result, the extent of racial discrimination was greatly decreased, the Negro's share in public services was enormously enlarged, and, most important of all, a definite and lasting break was made with the previous general acceptance of anti-Negro discrimination as a normal pattern of American life.

The progressive labor policies of the Roosevelt administration, embodied in such legislation as the National Labor Relations Act and the Wage-Hour Act, likewise made a basic contribution toward changing the social-economic-political status of the Negro people. And in long-time perspective, there is probably no more fundamental contribution the Roosevelt administration has made toward Negro freedom than the promotion of a strong and vital trade union movement—its membership in the past eleven years has grown from three to fourteen million—in which hundreds of thousands of Negro workers have come to form new bonds of comradeship with their white fellow workers.

The Roosevelt administration's conscious attack upon the economic and political backwardness of the South brought the first real twentieth century challenge to those oligarchic controls which have so long oppressed the great masses of white and Negro Southerners. The President dramatized the South as the "Number One Economic Problem of the Nation." He called its system of plantation exploitation "feudalistic." Programs of industrialization and agricultural reform were initiated. The President himself actively campaigned in 1938 against several of the most vicious southern demagogues, stimulating the development of a new labor and progressive movement in southern politics which has already retired a long succession of die-hard reactionaries from public life. Now, largely as a result of these and related policies, the South is experiencing a "New Reconstruction" which promises, in time, again to free millions of southern Negroes (and whites!) from that super-exploitation and reactionary political domination which constitute the nation's heritage from the unfulfilled tasks of the Civil War.

"That Man in the White House will stop at nothing to get votes!"

It is during this third ("Win-the-War") Roosevelt administration that the Negro people have moved most rapidly toward their historic goal of full democratic rights. First, and most basic, have been policies and programs designed to integrate Negro workers into the expanding war industries of the nation, and among them none has been more dramatic and important than the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. Launched just at the historic turning point of this great war—late June 1941—the unprecedented FEPC has been a major factor in prying open new employment opportunities for Negro workers.

Perhaps even more significant has been FEPC's success in establishing the *principle* that Negroes (and other minority groups) have the right to employment and advancement "without discrimination on account of race, creed, or national origin." It is highly significant that in FEPC's many hearings and investigations only once (in the still unsettled southern railroads case) have employers openly challenged the principle upon which this agency was founded. Although employment discrimination continues in practice, it has now lost its respectability. The all-important *principle* of no employment discrimination on grounds of race has definitely been established for the first time in the history of American industry.

In every one of FEPC's successive crises, President Roosevelt has come forward vigorously to defend this new instrument of American democracy. When WMC Commissioner McNutt suspended the railroad hearings and nearly wrecked the committee in the spring of 1943, the President (upon his return from Casablanca) reconstituted the FEPC on a firmer basis and ordered the hearings to proceed. When Comptroller-General Warren ruled, during the fall of 1943, that FEPC directives were merely "advisory" and lacking in real authority, the President promptly reversed his ruling and ordered compliance with FEPC's orders. When, in the late spring of 1944, Senator Russell introduced his amendment to destroy FEPC as a non-statutory agency, the President immediately recommended a budgetary appropriation to validate the committee, and fought for its approval by Congress. When the recent Philadelphia transit strike confronted FEPC with the most serious challenge of its hectic career, the President (then in the South Pacific) ordered out the Army of the United States to enforce FEPC's directive for the upgrading of eight Negro transit workers to platform jobs.

There have been other significant Roosevelt policies designed to improve the wartime status of Negro workers. Army and Navy contracts for war production specify that industrialists shall adhere to nondiscriminatory employment practices. The War Labor Board has handed down the unprecedented decision that the wages of white and Negro war workers shall be equal. Largely as a result, an estimated million or more Negro war workers are employed in industries from many of which they were almost or entirely excluded before the war. Moreover, the notable efficiency with which Negro war workers now perform many highly skilled technical, administrative, and supervisory jobs has blasted forever the myth that Negroes are poorly adapted to the requirements of modern industry.

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In numerous agencies of the federal government many thousands of Negro workers are employed where none but a white face was ever seen before. And these gains in federal employment have not been restricted to menial positions, but have been especially pronounced in clerical, professional, and even executive appointments.

The United States Supreme Court, all but two of whose members were appointed by Mr. Roosevelt, has handed down the truly historic decision that Negro citizens must be allowed to vote in the heretofore exclusively white primary elections in the southern states. It is notable that this 1944 decision completely reversed the ruling of the (for the most part) Republican-appointed Supreme Court in 1935, and that the one dissenting vote in the recent decision was cast by the Republican, Justice Roberts, who was not appointed by President Roosevelt.

There is general agreement that the integration of Negroes in the armed forces and the merchant marine is on a level far in advance of what prevailed during the first World War. Negro captains command mixed white and Negro crews on Liberty Ships bearing the names of famous Negro Americans. Negroes drive tanks, man anti-aircraft defenses, and carry forward the highly technical operations of the Signal Corps. The exploits of Negro pilots constitute one of the truly heroic chapters of this war. The Navy has been forced, for the first time in recent history, to admit Negroes into the ranks of fighting seamen and to train them as officers. Negro women serve their country in the WACS, they have recently been admitted into the WAVES and SPARS, and the former restrictive "Negro quota" in the Army Nurses Corps has at last been cast aside. Another progressive step in this area was the recently announced order against racial discrimination on the Army post exchanges. The significance of this blast at Jim Crowism can be judged from the fervor with which the order is being attacked by poll taxers in the South.

Every one of these democratic gains for the Negro people has met with bitter and continuing opposition from the anti-Roosevelt forces of reaction. They were made possible by the urgent necessities of this people's war, the courageous and enlightened win-the-war policies of President Roosevelt, and the struggles of the Negro people, organized labor, and other progressive forces supporting the Roosevelt administration.

It is patent that the consolidation and further extension of the Negro's wartime gains is dependent upon the continued national leadership of the Roosevelt administration and the further integration of the Negro people into that broad coalition of all classes which constitutes the democratic camp of national unity. But there is far from adequate understanding of the still more significant fact that attainment of the foreign and domestic goals of progressive America is likewise dependent upon continued progress toward full Negro democratic rights. The most immediate and direct expression of this relationship is seen in the election contests which now dominate the American political scene. The votes of Negro Americans on November 7 will probably be decisive in determining whether that leadership, and hence the goals for which it is essential, will triumph in the fall elections.

The effective Negro electorate is politically far more mature than ever before. It is strategically concentrated in key industrial areas where the election contest is most closely drawn. Indeed, in each of eight states which could prove decisive in November (New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, Missouri, and Indiana), the potential Negro vote is larger than the margin of votes between Willkie and Roosevelt in 1940. Negro voters hold a balance of power in these states, and are in position to control their 202 electoral votes—three-fourths of the decisive margin in the presidential contest.

Moreover, although pro-Roosevelt sentiment runs deep among Negro citizens (as was indicated by the recent *Fortune* poll which showed that seventy percent of the Negroes in New York and Chicago were for FDR), their votes for Roosevelt and Truman decidedly are *not* "in the bag." The Negro people are sorely disturbed by still existing discriminations in employment, and especially in the armed forces. Many are disillusioned by the obvious concessions of the Democratic convention to poll tax reaction, and fail to see that the net results of that convention constituted a decisive defeat for the anti-Negro, anti-Roosevelt forces within the Democratic Party. Further confusion and uncertainty is spread among them by the Republican convention's demagogic promises of "pie in the sky," and the pro-Republican campaign of several of the larger Negro newspapers.

This decisive Negro vote simply must be won for Roosevelt and Truman, and the only sure way to win it is to throw the whole power of organized labor and other pro-Roosevelt forces into the struggle for full Negro democratic rights —NOW. *The extent to which this is done, and done quickly, can well be decisive in determining the future history of our nation and the world.*

Thus, not only have the progressive policies of three Roosevelt administrations brought the Negro people rapidly along the road to their historic goal of freedom, but they have also created an unprecedented situation in which the urgent democratic needs of America are largely dependent upon the further extension of Negro freedom. This new relationship of interdependence between the welfare of the Negro people and the country as a whole expresses more dramatically than any other single development the effective democratic leadership which Franklin Delano Roosevelt has given to the American nation.

POLLING THE PULPIT

By REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

The Reverend Mr. Fritchman is editor of the "Christian Register" and director of the American Unitarian Youth.

THIS is a good year to rediscover a fine old American tradition, the "election sermon." It is a part of our American life. The election sermon took hold of the liveliest issues at the snapping end. It had no bland generalities, no pious evasions, no pulpit double-talk. The election sermon and all that followed in its wake is as American as baseball and just as fast, and it lasted for a long time. Theodore Parker's pre-Civil War sermons on "Merchants" and Bishop McConnell's homilies at the time of the Pittsburgh Steel strikes in the 1920's were both in the election sermon tradition. The simple and direct character of that tradition is seen across

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America today.

For example, at no time in a century have so many church people in this country expressed a desire to stand up and be counted on social and political issues. A Congregationalist doctor of divinity, Dr. Dwight Bradley, is working for the National Citizens Political Action Committee, a Harlem clergyman, Dr. A. Clayton Powell, minister of the largest Protestant congregation in America, is supported by Republicans, Democrats and Laborites for a seat in Congress which he will probably get. Catholics and Unitarians, to mention but two groups, work in and out of season for appropriations and a permanent status for the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee. A Methodist bishop, Dr. L. O. Hartman, heads a new committee working for the return of democracy in Spain.

The modern citizen with a religious inclination knows that his faith is morally derelict unless it has political responsibilities. Both religion and politics have to do with the ordering of human affairs. They cannot be true to themselves and be alien to each other. Yet, as this is said, the average American grows a bit disturbed. Religion and politics *do* mix, but in one sense they must be kept apart; and he is right.

There is a basic principle involved here which was painfully hammered out by men like Roger Williams and Thomas Jefferson. *The church is optional, a free choice open to all Americans who are free to take it or leave it as their conscience dictates.* Church people are free to pray, preach, organize, and agitate for reform, but the reverse is equally true. The church and its representatives do not belong in government at any time. The Bill of Rights is a document assuring freedom *for* religion and *from* the church in statecraft. This applies to Jews and Protestants, Catholics, and all other sects.

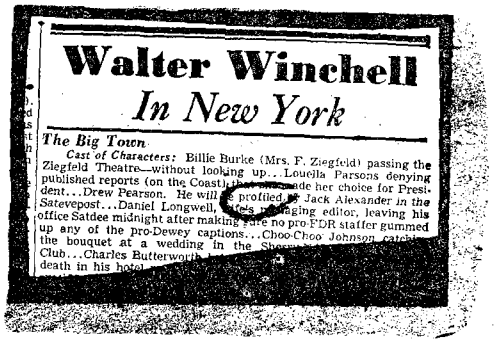
As this article is being written, letters and reports on the writer's desk tell of churches in Boston, Salt Lake City, Seattle, and Chicago, and in villages in Maine and Vermont (to mention just a few) where ministers and congregations together are prayerfully and militantly operating in this great democracy "to make the will of God prevail." They open their churches as nurseries for children of mothers in war plants; they fight against tax supported religious education of any brand in the public schools; they bring Negro children from New York City into the clear mountain air of Vermont; they canvass the hot streets of a great city, block by block, to obtain signatures to nomination papers of a man who will fight racism in Congress next year. And all this they do as God-fearing church people who know religion and politics have got to mix, just as their spiritual forefathers discovered it when they dug up St. Georges Hill in London or when Theodore Parker in Boston wrote anti-slavery sermons with a loaded pistol on his desk, while Negro refugees huddled in his cellar on their way to Canada.

Clearly, the organized churches are growing more articulate and responsible as their force in American public affairs becomes increasingly evident to millions of Americans, including Congressmen. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America denounces the encroachments of an ecclesiastical monopoly in South America. The Congregationalists celebrate a new "Mayflower Compact" and affix scores of thousands of signatures to a world order declaration that will help the agreements made at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran to become truly effective. The Methodists at their Kansas City quadrennial meetings supported the war against fascism and thousands of Catholics in Boston at a Memorial Day Mass this year heard Father Sexton, editor of the *Pilot,* assail the filthy pamphlets of the anti-Semites for what they are, at almost the same time that Dr. Bonnell at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church decorated with the swastika it deserved the Vatican plea for a negotiated peace. The Northern Baptist Convention meeting in Atlantic City this year, speaking for millions of its own believers, voted resolutions on full employment, extension of health and education facilities, and abolition of concordats between the Vatican and civil states.

Americans, familiar with our struggle for the Bill of Rights, in overwhelming majorities resent backsliding on the principle of separation of church and state so fundamental to American democracy. Establishments of religion, Catholic, Protestant or Jewish, have no business at council tables of the state.

Such events as were mentioned at the beginning of this article cannot be dismissed as windy declarations by pompous churchmen. Voted resolutions thoughtfully passed in churches and conventions by thousands of laymen and clergy throughout all America are behind them. They reflect carefully-planned forums, factual sermons on the FEPC, the fight against the poll tax, black markets, and the "Christian Front." To be sure there are ministers like Rev. J. Frank Norris who shuttlebombed (until air priorities caught up with him) between Detroit and Fort Worth, with a dubious gospel which did not lessen anti-Semitism or Negro hating. There are storefront churches that peddle a shabby counterfeit of Christianity. There are smug chapels of St. Martin's and St. Christopher's with neatly-trimmed suburban lawns where the highest temperature raised for righteousness comes at the annual bazaar. But when all this is noted a hard, steel-like fact remains: millions of Americans who are pew-holding church people know that Sunday morals call for Monday "meddling" in the market place, in the Senate chamber and at the union hall. While clusters of irreconcilable deacons, opposed to Monday applications of the Sunday gospel, remain far too frequently in power

Winchell, You Lawbreaker!



Walter Winchell
In New York

The Big Town

Cast of Characters: Billie Burke (Mrs. F. Ziegfeld) passing the Ziegfeld Theatre—without looking up... Louella Parsons denying published reports (on the Coast) that she made her choice for President...Drew Pearson. He will be profiled by Jack Alexander in the Satevepost...Daniel Longwell, Cole's managing editor, leaving his office Satdee midnight after making sure there's no pro-FDR staffer gummed up any of the pro-Dewey captions...Choo-Choo Johnson catching the bouquet at a wedding in the Sherman Square Club...Charles Butterworth [illegible] death in his hotel

READERS of Walter Winchell's column were horrified on October 26 to find him using the word "p——d." Unwittingly he had used a word which is alleged to be the sole property of the "New Yorker." When "New Masses" in a recent moment of careless abandon used the word, it received a letter from the "New Yorker's" attorney, Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst, demanding that we cease and desist, or else. The full details were given in our October 24 issue. One of the leading lights of this august legal house is that well-known humorist, Morris Ernst, whose idea of good clean honest fun is lots of Red-baiting. We don't know whether Winchell has yet received a demarche from Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst, but he can hardly hope to escape. There may be a legal out in the fact that he employed the word as a verb instead of a noun, but the matter looks grave. Of course, Winchell would never have got into this jam if he were a regular reader of NM. (advt.)

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in churches throughout this country, they are fighting a losing battle and they know it. Reading Monday sermon fragments in the newspapers is not the way to learn how alert churches are to social and political issues. Editors can blue-pencil sermons as skillfully as they can minimize the popularity of rationing with the housewives of America. Ask a Senator in Washington whether he hears from church people, singly and in mass formation, when the repeal of the poll tax is on the floor for action. When clergymen are sponsors of a campaign to save Jewish refugees or to abolish racial discrimination in industry, it cannot be dismissed as just ecclesiastical vanity to appear in print. As in the case of labor's leaders, *they stand for people.*

The day has gone when a bishop or a village rector will be silenced by a vestryman muttering syllables about "keeping religion out of politics." Preachers are citizens and they mould public opinion. They have moral standards that apply to the labor policy of the paper mill across the river and to the foreign policy of the United States in Argentina as well as to the honesty of the cashier of the local A & P. All three cases involve human relations which can, as the Bible reports in a well-documented fashion, be decent or, in certain cases, unspeakable. (People who defend the thesis that religion stops somewhere between the front yard and the office and never "meddles with politics" usually admit under pressure that they have not read the first five books of the Old Testament.)

The church in America is coming of age and, building on a long tradition (cf. Roger Williams, Ralph Waldo Emerson, or Walter Rauschenbusch) it knows that the things of Caesar are also the things of a righteous God. Union organizers go to church as well as bankers. Sharecropper preachers trained by Claude Williams are as much a part of American religion as vestrymen from Wall Street. Religion cannot be dismissed as something found on a raft with Eddie Rickenbacker. It is no miracle; it comes out of discussion and debate in church youth conferences that fight the Jim Crowing of blood plasma, it comes from church editors like Guy Emery Shipler of *The Churchman* who expose ecclesiastical racial discrimination. It comes from tough-souled parsons in Baptist and Presbyterian churches on side streets in side towns who fight small-town Gerald Smiths and village Coughlins. These unpublicized parsons work with the clear knowledge that victory for the Teheran and Washington policies of democracy must be securely founded on a clear public conscience at the crossroads church. For them the order of business on Sunday morning includes not only a sermon but the distribution of pamphlets on Japanese-American relocation projects and the signing of a petition to the Senator on maintaining subsidies. Rev. Edward Wahlberg's Grace Church in Denver has been the cradle of eighteen labor unions and at least one large-scale slum clearance project. Rev. Fred W. Shorter's Church of the People in Seattle arranged the first mass meeting for the longshoremen in their waterfront strike of 1934. These evidences, not publicized by Scripps Howard, Hearst, or Luce, are signs that, however the habits of churchgoing people may have altered, and however changed is the vocabulary of religion today, it is at work at the old stand tying spiritual issues and the hard facts of life tightly together. Since the time of the prophet Amos in the eighth century B.C., it has been a rugged assignment to make people pray for the brotherhood of man and then to persuade them to go out and build it the next day. The elections on November 7 are a current example.

Nobody will deliver the church vote to the Democrats or to the Republicans. There will be hundreds of thousands of election sermons preached between now and November 7 by men who are completely devoted to the separation of church and state, but who know that in a democracy a free church does not have to be silent. Millions of Methodists, Lutherans, Unitarians and Episcopalians are being asked, not to cast a ballot for FDR or Dewey, but to go home (or better, to a church forum) and study the records of Democrats or Republicans and see where they stood on the fundamental issues of America at war during recent months, and then to vote. For the church is interested in moral values written into human welfare. Souls to be saved have bodies attached to them that need schooling, food and medical care. The churches are giving thousands of people measuring sticks which will affect votes in November. The Presbyterian Board of Christian Education has issued a highly intelligent handbook, "Christians in Political Action." The Unitarians through their Department of Adult Education prepared material on basic issues for church citizens, correlating recent congressional legislation with resolutions passed at the 1944 national convention of their denomination. Not only party platforms but records and issues are being studied in parish halls during these pre-election months.

Millions of Americans of all faiths now know that Catholic priests in cassocks fight with Marshal Tito in the mountains of Yugoslavia as did their clerical brethren in many instances in Spain—on the side of freedom. Protestant missionaries share and share alike the humble fare of Communists in northwest China in their struggle against all forms of fascism. And in America in an election year far more ministers and church people with them are uniting with progressive forces than the average citizen suspects. It is not a matter of headlines and newsreels, but of day by day clarity of understanding in pulpits, parish halls, and church conventions. The churches, as well as the unions, are working to get out the vote and they are not content to have a taxi-ride proposition. It will be a vote vastly improved by preaching on the nature of fascism, panel discussions on home front warfare against defeatists and racketeers. In the international arena with well over a million family kits being sent by American church people this year to our Russian allies, anti-Soviet fears will make poor pabulum for propaganda by isolationist candidates. The church people of America have repudiated many of their pacifist spokesmen in recent months (notably at the Methodist national conclave in Kansas City in the spring of this year) and are equally certain that this country cannot live alone in "One World."

Yes, John Q. Pewholder is going to vote on November 7, and not be frightened off by the sepulchral voices of reaction crying, "Keep the church out of politics." Bibles and ballots are related. The church is not above the struggle to achieve and maintain democracy. In spite of age-long efforts on the part of a few to use the church as a barrier to progress, it emerges today as an ally of men building a people's world. One can safely predict that any religious institutions indifferent to the aspirations of the people in the postwar world will become a branch cast into a fire, a withered tree consumed with an unquenchable flame.

In order to complete its election campaign coverage, NEW MASSES is delaying until next week the publication of several special features on the occasion of the Soviet Union's twenty-seventh birthday.

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UP HOOVER'S SLEEVE

By F. J. MEYERS

THE machine which controlled the Republican National Convention in Chicago brutally excluded from its deliberations the greatest Republican since Lincoln, Wendell Willkie, the man who died in the heroic attempt to cleanse his party of fascist, anti-American influences. In his place, who dominated that convention? Re-read the speeches made there and you will see that keynoter Governor Warren of California, the unspeakable Clare Boothe Luce, the candidates themselves, added little but trimming to the central programmatic speech which has remained the foundation of the strategy of the Republican Party throughout the campaign. The maker of that speech, the mastermind of the Republican National Convention, was Herbert Hoover. Such a stench attaches to his name with so large a section of the American people that, having achieved his purpose, he has since been silent as the grave.

Why, then, was it necessary for Herbert Hoover to make even that appearance? It was not, as some people have said, a tactical error in an early stage of the campaign. Nor was it, as the campaign managers have tried to convince the American people, simply a matter of polite respect shown to an "elder statesman." The treatment of Willkie shows how much human decency and respect there is in the Dewey-Jaeckle ambulance-chaser's moral code. No, Herbert Hoover had a job to do in Chicago, a big job.

The defeat of Willkie left the isolationist, semi-fascist forces of the party riding high. To Herbert Hoover and that underworld section of finance which he represents there seemed a serious danger that these people, blind to the realities of 1944, would go before the country with a platform and candidate openly isolationist and reactionary, doomed to defeat before the campaign began. Hoover's role was to convince the followers of the Chicago *Tribune*, the supporters of Bricker, that there was a better way and a safer one; to show them how to adapt the technique of *Mein Kampf* to American political life; to give them a viciously reactionary program so constructed that it could be hidden under the synthetic liberal babble of a "me-too" Dewey. This is Hoover's "great design."

The picture of Herbert Hoover as the Great Engineer and the Great Humanitarian, as the solid American businessman, is one of the most successful feats of modern advertising. The story is long and tortuous, and unfortunately too little known in the United States. It is quite true that he started life without a fortune and by 1917 had amassed $4,000,000 or thereabouts, but the way he achieved it is far from the picture of the conscientious engineer and businessman which legend and a well-paid staff of press agents have created. Nor was this "business" experience gained in the United States. The pages of Walter Liggett's *The Rise of Herbert Hoover* give an almost unbelievable, but thoroughly documented picture of one promotional scheme after another—in Australia, in China, in Nigeria, in Russia, in which step by step he grew wealthier while thousands of investors somehow or other grew poorer. From the time when, under the guns of imperialist armies during the Boxer Rebellion, he managed what an English judge later called the "taking" of the Kaiping coal mines from their Chinese owners, to the promotional campaign he led for the Maikop oil fields in Russia in 1910, in which it is said the British investing public lost about $14,000,000, a series of mining-journal indictments, stockholders' protests, and lawsuits trace his career.

BUT it was just before the outbreak of the first World War that he saw the possibility of realizing his dream of becoming one of the world's wealthiest and most powerful men. He played a leading part in organizing the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated, Ltd., in which the Romanovs themselves, through whom its vast concessions were secured, were silent partners. This colossal corporation had assets in Russian timberland, water power, gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, and coal ores, together with refineries, transportation, etc., which have been conservatively estimated at a value of more than $1,000,000,000. It was capitalized, however, at only $60,000,000, of which $35,000,000 was allotted to the promoters, whose cash investment seems at the most to have been three-quarters of a million dollars. Hoover was well on his way to realizing his dream. Unfortunately his protectors, the Romanovs, disappeared from the scene, the people of Russia took back their property, and the dream was never fulfilled, despite the fact that Hoover filed against the Soviet government a claim for $280,000,000. It is perhaps not strange that, according to a report in the San Francisco *News* of August 13, 1931, Herbert Hoover told Benjamin C. Marsh, secretary of the People's Lobby, "To tell the truth, Marsh, the ambition of my life is to crush out Soviet Russia."

Until the publicity he received in the Commission for Belgian Relief, he was utterly unknown in America. On the strength of that reputation he was appointed United States Food Administrator during the first World War. In view of his sniping at the food program in this war, it is interesting to note that while the cost of living in the last war went up almost twice as fast as in this, the cash income of farmers increased considerably less, and under the leadership of the dollar-a-year representatives of the great canning, packing, and milling corporations, the net profits of the Big Five packing companies increased from 300 to 400 percent and cane sugar refineries showed profits of 191 percent on capital actually invested, after deducting all taxes.

In 1918 Hoover at last found himself in a position to utilize in his anti-Soviet plans his double reputation from Belgian Relief and US Food Administration. He was appointed director of the American Relief Administration, to spend in Europe $100,000,000 appropriated by Congress, together with additional tens of millions raised by public subscription, supposedly primarily for relief in central Europe. Of $94,000,000 accounted for to Congress in January 1921, all but $8,000,000 was spent in territory of anti-Soviet interventionist governments within Russia or upon its borders—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and the territories of Yudenich, Wrangel, Kolchak, and Denikin, leaders of the counter-revolution that sought to overthrow the young Soviet republic. The relief activities followed the fortunes of the interventionist armies and their "governments," flowing with their advance and ebbing with their retreat. These funds were unques-

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tionably used for the primary purpose of assisting in the attempted destruction of the Soviet government, a necessary preliminary to Hoover's dreams of fabulous fortune. Later, when his associate, Leslie Urquhart, began discussions with the Soviet government looking to the possibility of concessions in the former property of the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated, Ltd., the American Relief Administration, under Hoover's leadership, began some relief in Soviet Russia—relief which was terminated, curiously enough, on October 25, 1922, two days after the negotiations between Urquhart and the Soviet government broke down under the impossible demands of the Russo-Asiatic gang.

This adventurer was the man who, from 1920 to 1932, guided the government of the United States, first as Secretary of Commerce and the mastermind of the Harding and Coolidge administrations, then as President. Certainly the catastrophe of 1929 was not his single-handed contribution to the country; but it is with good reason that the American people have irrevocably named that disaster the Hoover depression. Under the Republican Party, for twelve years the policies of the government of the United States at home and abroad were guided by the understanding and the ethics of a modern robber baron. From the scuttling of international cooperation, through the scandal of Teapot Dome, to the cold-blooded massacre on Anacostia Flats of American veterans petitioning for their rights, the record shows what was the concept of the duties of government which animated the Hoover gang. Their policies were dictated by the needs of the group they represented—high tariffs, economic isolationism, the manipulation of the credit system, and the fostering of the speculative inflationary boom, together with the financing through the Dawes plan of the reactionary elements of Germany which gave Hitler his start. These people, who get red in the face at the thought of "federal government interference" for any progressive purpose found no scruples against using the government to help their friends help themselves to the resources of America in a hundred ways, of which Teapot Dome and Muscle Shoals are but the most dramatic instances.

Charles Keller

"Push harder, nursie, or we'll never make it!"

THE policies of Herbert Hoover accelerated and immeasurably deepened the economic disaster which began in 1929. But his right to have his name indissolubly linked to that depression comes even more from his callous lack of interest in the fate of the people of the United States in their agony. What is more, this refusal to stir a governmental finger to assist the tens of millions of starving unemployed and their families was, from the most hard-boiled economic point of view, the outstanding cause of the continuation and aggravation of the crisis. For only such humane and progressive policies as those of Franklin Roosevelt, motivated by the interests of the nation as a whole, not by the greed of a small band of licensed pirates, could develop that purchasing power which was the first step on the long, hard, upward climb from the nightmare days of apple-selling, Hoovervilles, foreclosed farms, and bankrupt businesses.

On the question of the unemployed, on December 2, 1930, more than a year after the beginning of the crisis, Hoover said in his message to the Congress: "Economic depression cannot be cured by legislative action or executive pronouncements." He inveighed against federal relief for the unemployed as an un-American "dole," but the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, under the chairmanship of Charles G. Dawes, was perfectly able to give "doles" in hundreds of millions of dollars to favored corporate interests.

The concept of a national policy directed toward the good of the whole nation is utterly foreign to him. Fortunes like his and those of his associates are made by fishing in troubled waters.

Exactly how he personally profits from the policies for which he fights is very hard to trace. Twenty years of experience in financial manipulation taught him well how to cover his tracks, but certain conclusions can be drawn from a series of scattered signposts.

Hoover's financial interests, unlike those of any other outstanding multimillionaire in the United States, are nowhere on the record. It is believed in financial circles, however, that since he attained prominence as a public figure they have been handled for him by a group of men whose rise began with their first associations with him, mainly in Europe before and during the first World War: Prentiss N. Gray, whose grain business was founded when Hoover began his Belgian Relief activities and ended when they were wound up; Edgar Rickard, former manager of *The London Mining Magazine*, one of Hoover's right-hand men during the Belgian Relief; Julius Barnes, head of the United States Grain Corporation during Hoover's Food Administration and relief activities; Edwin P. Shattuck, counsel to the Belgian Relief Commission; and George A. Zabriskie, chairman of the United States Sugar Equalization Board under the Food Administration.

Much support is given to this theory by an article which appeared in the New York *Times* on January 26, 1921: "The formation was announced yesterday of a holding corporation, with offices at *42 Broadway*, of which Julius H. Barnes, formerly of the United States Grain Corporation, is president, and in which Herbert C. Hoover is interested, to combine several industrial enterprises

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and establish others. . . . The Intercontinental Development Company, as the new corporation is named . . . controls the *Pejepscot Paper Company*. . . ." The article then goes on to name others of its widespread interests and concludes: "Besides Mr. Barnes, other officers of the company are . . . Edgar Rickard, mining engineer and director of the American Relief Administration, vice president and secretary; and Edwin P. Shattuck, vice president and counsel."

It can hardly be a mere coincidence that in 1931 the New York address of Herbert Hoover, President of the United States, was listed as 42 Broadway; or that in 1944 the address and telephone number of the Pejepscot Paper Company, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, telephone, Mohawk 4-8141, is also listed in the New York telephone book as the address and phone number of Hoover's infamous appeasement National Committee on Food for the Small Democracies.

THE multifarious financial interests of these friends and associates of Hoover came together in the international-cartel banking combine, the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation and its subsidiaries, the Schroder Trust Company and Schroder, Rockefeller and Company. It was organized in 1923 with Baron Bruno von Schroder of the London parent firm, the J. Henry Schroder Bank, as chairman of the board, Prentiss Gray as president, Julius Barnes and George Zabriskie as members of the board of directors. On that board of directors today sits Allen Welch Dulles, brother of Dewey's "Secretary of State," John Foster Dulles; and its legal counsel is Sullivan and Cromwell, of which both John Foster Dulles and Allen Welch Dulles are partners.

The Schroder banking interests of New York and London are up to their necks in devious deals with the Nazi-controlled European cartel structure. *Time* magazine on July 10, 1939, called the London house "a firm which is an economic booster of the Rome-Berlin axis," and stated that it had formed a company named Compensation Brokers, Ltd. "which gave Germany strategic raw materials on the cuff." It was the London bank for the European Potash Cartel and had a corporate membership in the pro-Nazi Anglo-German Fellowship.

Baron Bruno von Schroder was decorated by von Ribbentrop on his seventieth birthday, we may assume for good reason. His son, Helmut W. B. Schroder, has succeeded him today as the head of the British and American firms, both of which had financial interests in the international rayon cartel in which I. G. Farbenindustrie and the Vereinigte Glanzstoffe played decisive parts. The American firm and its affiliates have acted for the Vereinigte Stahlwerke and the Schering Corporation, which has been linked by the Department of Justice with Schering A. G. of Berlin in the international hormone cartel; they were also bankers for one of the concerns in the international nitrogen cartel in which I. G. Farbenindustrie again played a leading part.

Senator Pepper recently exposed some of these connections with the German control of European industry. A representative of the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation attempted to answer him by stating that the American firm had no connection with the Baron Kurt von Schroder who was instrumental in bringing to Hitler the support of the German industrialists. Kurt von Schroder, he said, was only "a distant cousin of the London Schroder family." (New York *Times*, October 12, 1944.) What he neglected to add, however, was that there are two Schroder German banking houses—Schroder Brothers of Hamburg and the J. H. Stein Bank of Cologne. Kurt von Schroder is of the Cologne bank; equally powerful and closely connected with him are the Schroder Brothers of Hamburg; and they are not "distant cousins" but *brothers* of Baron Bruno von Schroder, till 1940 chairman of the board of both the New York and London firms, and *uncles* of the present head of both, Helmut W. B. Schroder.

Clearly it cannot be said of either Hoover and his friends or of Dulles that foreign affairs are "a field foreign to them." But their kind of international interests seem to be much closer to those of the Hitlerite inciters of world war and chaos than to the American people's desire for lasting peace.

It is no wonder, then, that Hoover's record in the last ten years of international agony has been one of constant appeasement of fascism, of incitement against the Soviet Union, and that he is now waging a desperate fight to destroy Anglo-Soviet-American friendship and cooperation. Such cooperation means the end of his freebooter's world. That is why in 1940 he demanded that President Roosevelt break relations with the Soviet Union and told the Republican National Convention of the same year that his own administration had "set a moral standard in the world by refusal to recognize the murderous regime in Russia." That is why he signed the America First "Declaration against War." That is why he founded the National Committee on Food for Small Democracies, on whose board sit Emil Hurja, publisher of the *Pathfinder*, owned by the Republican boss of Pennsylvania, Joseph N. Pew; Raymond Richmond, New York representative of the Gannett publications; Edward Ryerson, a director of the America First Committee; Anne Lindbergh; Edward Lodge Curran, Jew-baiter, pro-fascist and associate of Charles E. Coughlin; Fred G. Clark, former National Commander of the Crusaders; Ferdinand Lammot Belin, formerly vice president of the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co., ambassador to Poland under Hoover; George Sokolsky and Boake Carter; and a long list of other such reactionary, semi-fascist and fascist friends of Hitler in America. It is this committee which demanded that we help Hitler's military supply problem by shipping food supposedly for the children of Europe.

Hoover's real program does not differ from that of the openly fascist groups, but with it he could never hope to win an American election. Dewey is his hope and the hope of all his kind. But the American people, as President Roosevelt said last week, are seasoned and mature enough to recognize behind the sleazy facade of "international cooperation" and "jobs and opportunity for all" the real content of the Republican campaign, the real meaning for them of this little man whose foreign policy would be made safe for Herbert Hoover by John Foster Dulles, whose domestic policy would lead America to a worse debacle than that of 1929.

A LETTER is just a piece of paper with words on it, but when the words are "Free Morris U. Schappes" the letter becomes a mighty blow against injustice. You can strike such a blow by writing to Governor Dewey, Albany, N. Y., urging him to pardon Schappes now!

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MY VOTE—AND WHY

A SYMPOSIUM

With the following replies NEW MASSES *concludes its Election Symposium. The questions asked of a number of prominent citizens were: (1) Which candidate for President and Vice President are you supporting in this election? (2) What are your reasons for supporting this ticket? Previous sets of replies to these questions were published in the issues of Oct. 3, Oct 10, and Oct. 17.—The Editors.*

Sigmund Spaeth

Music Critic and Lecturer

I AM supporting Roosevelt and Truman in the coming election, not only because of the record of the administration but because I fail to find any possible argument in favor of the Republican candidate or his party. Mr. Dewey has neither said nor done anything to indicate a policy or platform differing from or improving upon that of the Democrats. It seems to be agreed that we want to win the war and the peace, bring the boys back home, have jobs for everyone, reconvert war industries to peacetime production, and preserve the freedom and security of mankind. So it is merely a question of which of the two candidates is best qualified to carry out this program. The issue is not one of party or of a fourth term or any other slogan or formula. It is a simple question of which is the better man. I have yet to find an intelligent person who honestly has any doubts on that score.

The reactionary isolationists who ruined the country in their twelve years of misrule publicly admitted their lack of concern for the good of the United States or the whole world by discarding the man who was their natural and most successful leader, the one great liberal of the Republican Party. Now that he is dead, there is no one among them to stop the policies that in the past led to a financial crash, a long depression, and the worst war in history. The return of such leaders to power would be disastrous.

The Republican campaign has been a series of deliberate falsehoods and misquotations, every one of which has proved a boomerang; and while uttering these obvious falsehoods, the candidate has had the effrontery to impeach the integrity of the President and to tell the Commander-in-Chief how he should conduct the war!

These puerile attacks are not worth answering seriously. The administration can afford to stand on its record. It is inconceivable that any businessman would substitute an inexperienced office-boy for a general manager of twelve years' successful handling of the most difficult problems imaginable, under the most outrageous handicaps. It would be absurd to jeopardize our entire future for the sake of a party slogan or because of a personal animosity.

Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn

Women's leader, Hartford, Conn.

I SHALL vote for President Roosevelt because he is the kind of man we want in the White House. He is far-sighted. He has proved it.

You remember how he saw that the war was coming long before most people did and how he struggled to arouse the country. When Mr. Dewey was saying in 1939 and 1940 that we must take no part in any negotiations between the belligerent countries of Europe either during or after the war, the President, who saw the terrible danger that we were in, was urging Congress to repeal the Arms Embargo Act and to enact a Selective Service Act. The Republicans in Congress voted overwhelmingly against them both. They were passed by Democratic votes, and without them our allies would have been beaten and we should have been at Hitler's mercy. In 1941 when the President wanted the Lend-Lease Act passed, the Republicans in Congress voted overwhelmingly against it. It was passed by Democratic votes. Mr. Dewey was against it. He said it would destroy free institutions. He came around later when he was certain that it was going to pass. Lend-Lease laid the basis for the present alliance between England, China, Russia, and the United States. In 1940 when the President called for 50,000 airplanes, Mr. Dewey said that the figure was fantastic. We now produce over 100,000 planes a year. I could go on indefinitely.

The Republicans are as blind as bats. They have learned nothing in the past twenty years. The Old Guard that landed us in the 1929 depression is still in the saddle hiding behind the smoke screen of Dewey's youth and shyster lawyer tactics.

The American people are on trial. If they can be led astray by these false prophets they can only say to themselves later that they deserved what they got. But I remember 1940—the people stood by their great President, though most of the newspapers were against him and no stone was left unturned to defeat him. They really understood. That is the hope—that they will understand.

Kenneth W. Porter

Professor of History, Vassar College

I AM supporting Thomas and Hoopes, because they stand for socialism. Roosevelt and Dewey have both—I believe sincerely—declared for "free enterprise," alias capitalism—which means freedom of exploitation for the few and of starvation for the many, a monotonous and miserable cycle of profits, poverty, unemployment, depression, and war, ultimately leading toward totalitarian dictatorship. The Socialist Party alone stands for total democracy—social, political, and economic.

Friends sometimes strangely tell me that they too would vote Socialist did they not fear to throw away their votes. A vote, however, is not a dollar bet on a horse race but a solemn expression of political conviction. The only vote thrown away is that cast against the voter's real beliefs. A Democrat in Kansas, a Republican in Texas, throws his vote away if he casts it for the candidate certain to win in that state. I should worse than throw my vote away did I cast it for either Dewey or Roosevelt.

Other friends say: "Yes, vote Socialist—any other time but this. The crisis is too acute; we must choose the lesser evil. The reactionary Republicans—the dictatorial Democrats—must be kept out of office at all costs." There has not been an election in my memory without a similar supposed crisis. Hoover—or Smith, Landon, Willkie, Roosevelt—or Dewey—must be defeated to ward off reaction or dictatorship. I prefer to vote positively—for the party of socialism and liberty.

Even from a short-range viewpoint the Socialist vote will be effective. The election of 1932—in which the Socialist Party polled nearly 900,000 votes—was followed by the New Deal era; those of 1936 and 1940, in which former Socialist voters plugged for one or another of the capitalist parties, were followed by a decline of progressivism.

A vote for Dewey is a vote against Roosevelt, a vote for Roosevelt is a vote against Dewey, but a vote for Thomas is a vote for socialism.

Ephraim Cross

Professor of Romance Languages, College of the City of New York

YOU have invited me to reply to two questions. I am pleased to send the following:

1. I am supporting Roosevelt and Truman in this election.

2. I am supporting the above against Dewey and Bricker because I have learned to be somewhat practical in my idealism. That means, I am willing to accept three-quarters of a loaf of bread while I am striving for a whole loaf and while powerful forces are preventing me from obtaining the entire loaf I want.

I don't view Roosevelt as the best man that ever was. I am not satisfied with some of his compromises and retreats. I was completely disgusted with his official attitude during the period when the Spanish Republic was fighting our anti-fascist cause against international fascism spearheaded by the Nazi government of Germany and its equally loudmouthed but less efficient partner, the fascist government of Italy.

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However, I do see the finger of progress tracing a forward motion under the impetus of internal and external forces impelling Roosevelt and I also see the clearly anti-democratic, fascist forces that have gathered around the persons of Dewey and Bricker as their rallying point. The latter forces are the same that, masquerading as a "patriotic" crusade against "subversive" elements, delivered France into the hands of foreign fascism. Note that those forces were anti-Popular Front and anti-labor. To them it is subversive and un-American to talk liberally, let alone to act liberally.

I see Roosevelt striving to give us a better domestic dispensation and a better ordered world civilization. I see a heart and soul for statesmanship so far superior to Dewey as to make consideration of the latter an utterly ridiculous proposal. (These words stand even in the calamitous possibly of Dewey's election.)

I know that the foreign and domestic enemies of the United Nations and the friends of Nazi-fascism have sound reasons for basing their hopes on such a mentality and philosophy as Dewey's. That does not mean that those numerous good Americans who will vote for Dewey are fascists. It signifies that those simple-minded and well-disposed Americans who are naively taken in by the propaganda for Dewey make much harder the fight we are going to have to perfect our American democracy.

Dr. Mortimer Graves

Adm. Sec'y of American Council of Learned Societies

SIX weeks ago I was opposed to a fourth term for Mr. Roosevelt. I consider his foreign policy a stupid and dismal failure, his conduct of the war undistinguished, and the absence of an obvious successor a measure of the debility of the Democratic Party. I have always been a supporter of his domestic policy, but I believe that the one right which democracy has to retain is the right to throw them out when it is tired of them. In other words, like all the frustrated New Dealers, I was meat for the Republicans.

That was six weeks ago. In the interval Mr. Dewey has shown himself to be a cheap political twirp of the tawdriest kind. Instead of statesmanlike criticism of the obvious shortcomings of the present regime and some sort of promise that a Republican administration could do better, he has come before us with nothing but a cowardly campaign of innuendo and falsehood utterly beneath contempt. That the dishonesty of the candidate and the bankruptcy of his party have not already subjected him to that last refuge of enraged democracy—tar and feathers—makes me shudder for the future of popular government. Mr. Dewey is making the same mistake as did Mr. Willkie, in believing the politicians who tell him that he cannot afford to be honest with the American people. Mr. Willkie discovered his error, but he recanted too late; otherwise he might have been President. Perhaps chagrin at this realization had something to do with his untimely death.

Nineteen hundred and forty-four's choice before the voters is ghastly—almost as bad as that between Harding and Cox. But since that is the case, it seems to me better (as Hamlet says about changing horses in midstream) rather to "bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of."

Hence—and in spite of Mr. Truman—I am reluctantly in favor of Mr. Roosevelt's fourth term, and a fifth, too, if there is no more honesty in the campaign of 1948.

What this country needs most is a new political party—and soon!

Hiram Haydn

Editor of "The American Scholar," organ of Phi Beta Kappa

I AM personally supporting Franklin Delano Roosevelt in this election—but with reluctance. I say reluctance, partly because I have not been in sympathy with a good measure of Mr. Roosevelt's domestic policy, partly because I am opposed to a fourth term, but especially because his performance this summer at the time of the Democratic National Convention seemed to me at very sad variance with the basic social principles for which his administration has stood—and a regrettable triumph of expedient politics over principles.

On the other hand, to quote Harlow Shapley, "Important events for human society are just ahead, important operations in social mechanics." At such a time we must "choose those who are willing to face the facts of social evolution." Mr. Dewey seems to me to have shown slight evidence of an awareness of the nature of those events and operations, no consistent disposition to face those facts.

C. Ross

Throw into the balance the experience Mr. Roosevelt has had in dealing with international matters. It seems clear to me that his reelection is imperative.*

William L. Standard

Counsellor at law, Proctor in Admiralty

I EXPECT to vote for President Roosevelt and Vice President Truman.

The record of the present administration is the best guarantee that public funds will be used to preserve living conditions of the vast majority and not to enrich special groups.

I have studied the shipping industry for more than a decade and know that the record of the Republicans in that field is the most shameful scandal in American history.

The Black investigation (1934) into air mail and ocean mail contracts exposed the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations as squanderers of public funds. The record of these administrations in the field of social legislation shows them to be utterly without compassion for the needy in our land.

The Black Senate investigation revealed, among other things, the following: (1) That a Pacific Lighterage Company, with an investment of $9,916, made profit of $1,175,182 in the period from 1929 to 1933. (2) That the International Mercantile Marine and Dock Company, with a capitalization of $100.00, made a net profit of more than a half million dollars each year during the period of mail contracts which ended in 1933. (3) The most scandalous situation of all is that of a shipping company organized in 1922 with a cash capital of $500.00 making a profit of $6,700,000.

Compare this record with the record of the Roosevelt administration in the field of social legislation.

The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 not only made a repetition of the past scandals impossible, but under it was constructed a merchant marine in every way adequate to meet the national emergency. The postwar program of the President calls for full employment of ships and full employment of merchant seamen.

The shipping industry is international in character. The opening of new markets throughout the world means not only the raising of the standards of living of other peoples, but what is more important, it is the best guarantee of full employment at home.

Full employment based upon increased foreign trade is not only a guarantee of *continuous employment* throughout the land, but the improved well-being of our neighbors is the best guarantee of *continued peace* throughout the world.

The reelection of President Roosevelt is the best assurance the workers, farmers, and veterans have that bread lines and hunger marches will be prevented.

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* (Note: This is a personal statement and does not necessarily represent the views of Phi Beta Kappa.)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

THE MANDATE MUST BE DECISIVE

By THE EDITORS

NEXT Tuesday, November 7, the American people will for the fortieth time since the establishment of our republic elect a President of the United States. Rarely if ever in our history has this quadrennial act been so huge with meaning. Within the ballot boxes of the nation there will lie not merely the votes for one man or the other, but the shape of momentous things to come, for ourselves and in large measure for the world.

This election takes place in the midst of the greatest war ever known, a war not yet won in either Europe or Asia, and with the peace still to be fashioned, still to be given substance and enduring strength. Is it time for a change? The argument for a change at a time like this must rest on either of two broad general grounds: that President Roosevelt has demonstrated his incompetence to lead us in the difficult years ahead, or that Governor Dewey has so clearly demonstrated his superior competence that the country and its allies could only profit from his election.

The charge of incompetence against Mr. Roosevelt founders on at least three formidable achievements: the remarkable series of military and naval victories in Europe and the Pacific, involving a gigantic mobilization of human and economic resources, extraordinary planning and brilliant strategic leadership, in all of which the basic decisions, as was indicated in the President's Philadelphia speech last week, were made by FDR; the prodigious output of armaments and the gearing of our entire economy to the needs of war; and the successes in the conduct of foreign relations, which have led from the Atlantic Charter and Casablanca through the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran accords to the project for a world security organization written at Dumbarton Oaks.

What about Dewey's own claims to superior competence? If there were doubts at the outset of the campaign concerning his fitness for the highest office in the land—doubts shared by many of his supporters—he has now succeeded in removing them. He has clearly demonstrated his complete *unfitness* to lead our country in coping with the enormous problems of war and peace that lie ahead. It is this manifest unfitness that has led Republicans like Senator Ball and Walter Lippmann, businessmen like Donald M. Nelson, former head of the War Production Board, and so conservative a newspaper as the New York *Times*, which supported Willkie in 1940, to urge FDR's reelection. The contrast between the two candidates is appalling—appalling that our country should be in even the slightest danger of having at its head a Dewey and all he represents. Even his most ardent partisans have now been reduced to making their principal argument that he is an efficient administrator. America has thousands of expert administrators, but no one would dream of making any of them President. Is this the issue in this fateful year of 1944?

How has the GOP candidate performed on the real issues?

The Conduct of the War: Dewey began by announcing in his acceptance speech that if elected, he would abdicate the President's constitutional role as Commander-in-Chief and leave everything to the generals and admirals. But before many weeks had passed he "forgot" this pledge and presumed to tell the generals and admirals that General MacArthur had for political reasons been denied adequate supplies and adequate tasks. MacArthur's present invasion of the Philippines is the best commentary on Dewey's competence and responsibility in this sphere.

Foreign Policy: In this field Dewey has given a Jekyll-Hyde performance in an effort to conciliate both the Willkie Republicans and independents, who want a genuinely cooperative world, and the reactionary isolationists who dominate the Republican Party. Thus Dewey set a time-bomb under the Dumbarton Oaks conference and then tried to appropriate all its accomplishments. In his speech at the *Herald Tribune* Forum he urged "continued close collaboration among the four great powers," and at the same time sought by irresponsible partisan statements to disrupt collaboration on specific problems: Poland, Germany, Rumania, etc. When Dewey endorsed one of the worst defeatists in the Senate, Wiley of Wisconsin, and the Chicago *Tribune's* senatorial candidate, Richard J. Lyons; when he solicited testimonials in behalf of his foreign policy from such men as Taft, Vandenberg, and Joe Martin; when he appeared in Chicago on the same platform with two of the favorites of the fascist front, Senator Brooks and Rep. Stephen A. Day, he showed how dangerous his real foreign policy would be for the country.

The Home Front: On home front issues Dewey has alternately laid claim to the social achievements of the New Deal and assailed as "regimentation" the policies that made these achievements possible. He has sought to play on and magnify the difficulties engendered by the war and to serve as a sounding board for all the home front malcontents and saboteurs. But most serious of all have been the reckless appeals to class and race hate on the part of Dewey, Bricker, Clare Boothe Luce, and other GOP spokesmen. This in itself should demonstrate to every American—businessman, worker, farmer, and professional—that Dewey is incapable of uniting the country behind a postwar program of jobs and expanding well-being for all the people. For if he is elected, he will take office after having antagonized the 5,000,000 members of the CIO, most of them in basic industry, without whose cooperation management cannot solve the problems of production and employment. He will take office after having sowed racial and religious strife through the anti-Semitic smearing of Sidney Hillman. He will take office after having alientated by his Red-baiting our biggest postwar customer, the Soviet Union. Under those circumstances, even with the best will in the world, what could the Republican candidate do to prevent a collapse?

The Moral Issue: There is also a moral issue in this campaign and it is of the utmost importance. Not since the anti-Catholic assault on Al Smith in the 1928 election has the country witnessed anything approaching the moral level of

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this GOP campaign. The Red-baiting, Jew-baiting and alien-baiting have been justly compared by President Roosevelt to the technique of Hitler and Mussolini. But this is not all.

There is also the Republican candidate's callous attempt to undermine the morale of the members of the armed forces and sharpen the anxieties of their families with his false charges about demobilization. There is the candidate's penchant for quoting out of context so that it completely misrepresents the original. There are the scurrilous whisperings about the President's health. There is what Walter Lippmann, writing in the pro-Dewey New York *Herald Tribune*, has called the effort to "destroy the prestige and wreck the influence and impugn the good faith of the man who speaks for America in the councils of the world." There is the Hearst frameup which seeks to link the Democratic vice presidential candidate, Senator Truman, with the Ku Klux Klan, though as Virginia Gardner has shown in this issue and last week's issue of NEW MASSES, Klansmen and other operators in the political underworld are working day and night for the Dewey-Bricker ticket.

ALL this underlines that the choice before the independent voters of the country is not merely a choice as to the better qualified of two men, but a choice between two irreconcilable political outlooks, two fundamentally different ways of life. The next President of the United States cannot be a man who wears many masks, whose convictions are a blank check, who practices the political morality of the McCormick-Patterson axis. The next President of the United States must be a man of proved integrity, whom the American people and the peoples of other countries can trust. He must be a man who has demonstrated his ability to lead greatly and with historic vision toward the solution of the vast problems of the war and the peace which face us. America cannot afford anyone less than such a man. And we already have him —Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt is not perfect, he has made mistakes. None of our great Presidents was without weaknesses; all of them on occasion tried the patience of their friends and supporters. In the past four years, however, President Roosevelt has risen to new eminence, has won his right to be ranked not only with America's great, but with the great men of the world. He has had to contend with vaster, more complex problems than any of our Presidents, and when one considers the strength of the obstructionist forces arrayed against him, the wonder is not that this detail or that detail has been found wanting, but that the gigantic whole has been so constructive and enduring. The President in this election is the true representative of national unity, expressing the interests of all classes of our population. The postwar program he outlined in his Chicago speech illuminated his whole conception of America as a united team working toward that prosperous and peaceful world which we together with our allies can achieve.

We therefore strongly urge our readers to vote and get their friends to vote for President Roosevelt and Senator Truman and for all congressional candidates who support the Roosevelt policies. In New York State independents have the opportunity of making their weight felt by voting for the Roosevelt-Truman ticket and for other progressive candidates on the American Labor Party line. Let no one be misled into voting on the Liberal Party line: the leaders of this outfit vie with the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press in their hatred of our Soviet ally and they have been among the chief feeders of the Red-baiting, anti-Hillman propaganda of the GOP.

Our task is not only to reelect President Roosevelt, as well as to give him a Congress that will work with him, but to reelect him so decisively that it will constitute an unmistakable mandate to carry on for a better America and a better world.

Churchillian Harmony

WITH the self-imposed title of "wandering minstrel," Mr. Churchill's song before the House of Commons was heartening music indeed. The Prime Minister is no ordinary lyricist and as a political composer he is acutely conscious of all the elements that make for good harmony. His theme was the solid cordiality among the leading Allies. Without it, he stressed, the future is grave and black; with it, rich and promising. In this context he spoke of the many issues that face the three powers who naturally have different approaches to common problems. "Where we cannot agree we understand the grounds for each other's disagreement and each other's point of view." "But over a very wide area," Mr. Churchill found agreement that makes for united, practical, everyday policy. And to give the settlement of questions a long range base, he also foresaw the need for a meeting of the three chiefs of government.

As for his talks in Moscow, Mr. Churchill made it again clear that the "tangled questions of the Balkans" occupied a large part of the agenda. Here too a working agreement was established and the announcement of the Bulgarian armistice terms is an indication of how that issue has been resolved. On Greece, Mr. Churchill called for unity of every party and group. It is unfortunate that the impression still remains that the British position toward the EAM, the principal movement of liberation, is none too friendly and that the Foreign Office is a little too anxious over the safety of reactionary King George's throne. Mr. Churchill could have dispelled these impressions. There is reason to believe, however, that London will not remain adamant for too long when it becomes universally clear how magnifiicent has been the EAM's contribution in purging Greece of the Germans.

The Prime Minister said nothing especially new about Poland. But one can detect in his remarks a note of irritation with the Poles in England for their dilly-dallying. Mr. Churchill is obviously impatient and insists on prompt and effective decisions from Mikolajczyk's cabinet. If it fails to act quickly the moral onus will again be on its shoulders and the more intelligent members are undoubtedly trying to avoid such a clear fixing of blame by trying to find a way out.

Fruits of Coalition

RECOGNITION of both France and Italy was significant in more than one respect. The step in acknowledging the government of General de Gaulle as the *de jure* authority in France was taken simultaneously by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, and was soon followed by similar moves on the part of several other members of the United Nations. In the case of the Bonomi government of Italy official ties were established by the United States, Great Britain, and other American republics, thus falling in line with the Soviet Union which had established such relations in effect many months ago. It is also evident that these moves resulted from the Roosevelt-Churchill talks at Quebec and the Churchill-Stalin meeting which followed in Moscow. They therefore mark a further consolidation of the anti-Hitler coalition characterized by an increasing

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number of joint diplomatic actions in the common cause.

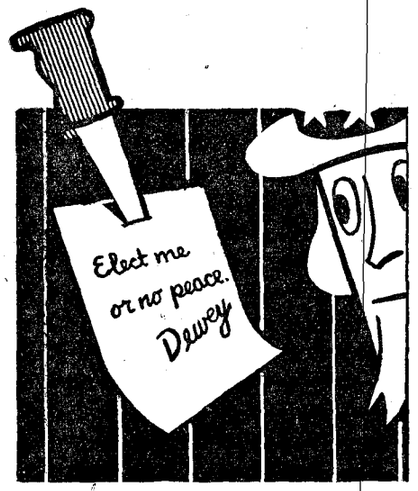
It was only a few days ago in his speech at the *Herald Tribune* Forum that the usually uninformed Mr. Dewey railed against the President for failure to recognize the French government and for dealing badly with Italy. Obviously the steps later announced for both nations had already been decided upon and were only waiting Mr. Churchill's return to London. With typical irresponsibility Mr. Dewey did not bother to find out the facts.

If these steps of recognition add two more nails to the coffin of Dewey's aspirations and thus do a great service to the American people, their effect upon our allies in France and Italy will be just as important. The heroic contribution of the French people to the war, symbolized by General de Gaulle's government, is now crowned; France and the French people are on their way back to their traditional prominence in world affairs. It remains for their allies to arm and support them along the remaining road to victory.

The recognition of the Bonomi government of Italy, as in the case of France, is a triumph for the political coalition, ranging from conservative to Communist, which has brought democratic unity to the peninsula. On such coalitions the future peace and security of Europe and the world depend.

Pasaran!

WE CANNOT in a brief paragraph describe our jubilation over the momentous news that comes from the Spanish border. From the growing number of reports there is no doubt that the Supreme Council of National Unity is the magnetic center of all anti-Franco forces and that the operations of the Spanish Maquisards in the d'Aran valley are but one phase of the developing upheaval within the country itself. Franco would have the world believe that the capture of several towns in the Pyrenees represents sporadic forays without any support in the interior. The contrary, of course, is true. In Estremadura, in Andalusia, Santander, and Catalonia, as well as in other areas, guerrillas have been fighting for a long time. In many cities and villages there have been demonstrations against the incredible black market and falangist terror. Not infrequently these protests against Hitler's Madrid gauleiter have ended with fervent expressions of friendship for the Allied cause.



Tony

Spain, then, from all indications, is approaching redemption—redemption by her own people who never gave up the fight against fascism. For our own country, policy toward Spain is in need of radical revision. No longer tenable is the claim that our military affairs are such that we are compelled to proceed cautiously in dealing with the Franco regime. The Mediterranean is controlled by the Allies; France is back in the fold; North Africa has been cleansed. We are strong and to continue a policy based on past weakness is merely to handicap ourselves before the urgent necessity of undermining the Nazis' Iberian outpost. By breaking with Madrid, by assisting the Spanish Maquis and the Supreme Council we would throw the Argentine fascists back on their heels and strengthen the democratic movements throughout Latin America. There are large numbers of German troops in Spain and that again is another reason for prompt action. Without defending its current attitude in the least, it is absurd to wonder why the French provisional government is hesitant to express the French people's desire to aid the Spanish democrats when the United States and Great Britain are practically lethargic in the matter. If the latter two acted boldly then Paris would act with equal boldness. We shall have to reckon with Franco sooner or later; there is no escaping our obligation in this instance because it is integral to a complete victory over the enemy. But it must be soon if the cost is to be small and relatively bloodless.

Avenging Pearl Harbor

AT LAST reports (October 29) from Pearl Harbor the Japanese lost fifty-eight warships sunk or damaged, while we lost six. The tabulation according to classes of ships is not complete, but it is known that the enemy lost (sunk, probably sunk or heavily damaged), nine battleships, four carriers, thirteen heavy cruisers, six light cruisers, more than two dozen destroyers and a number of other ships. And in this triple action between the Imperial Navy and the 3rd US Fleet (Admiral Halsey) and the 7th US Fleet (Admiral Kinkaid) in the Luzon, Samar, and Leyte area, Pearl Harbor was richly avenged.

The Japanese objective was to catch us one foot ashore on Leyte and the other foot on ship, route our amphibious forces and destroy our fleet, which was to be lured into a trap in the straits between the Central Philippines. As a result, the Japanese achieved neither, were drawn into a trap themselves and lost well over one half of their entire navy. Tokyo cannot risk a battle with our Navy any more, and knows it. It cannot interfere with future landing operations on Formosa, Hainan, and the China coast. It cannot protect the immensely long and ever narrowing sea route from Japan to the southern reaches of the Japanese loot-empire. Thus, as far as the sea is concerned, we have its freedom except in Japanese home waters where the remnants of the Japanese navy, with their submarine force more or less intact, can still prove quite troublesome.

Japanese losses in battleships and carriers, which together form the basic team of long range naval warfare, will force the enemy to depend almost exclusively on land based aviation. This aviation cannot keep to sea for combat, cannot cover all the sea in strength, and, so far, has not stood up well against our carrier based fighters. In contrast with all other great military powers, Japan always used the formula "the Navy and the Army," instead of vice versa. As a result of the great American victory at the Philippines, the enemy will have to revert to saying "the Army and the Navy" because the Imperial Navy has been reduced to an auxiliary role. However, the Japanese army is still there, little impaired. It is on the continent of Asia. It will have to be beaten there. Our effort will have to be immense—in worthy proportion to our glorious successes in the Pacific. We will need, for example, sixteen ship-tons initially and six tons per month *per man landed in China*. Figure the distance and you will see that we will have to back up Admiral Nimitz's fighting flag with more than the tonnage of our entire peacetime merchant fleet. Rejoicing—yes; complacency—*no*.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

IN THE WORLD OF ART

By MOSES SOYER

As THE art season gains in momentum it becomes more and more difficult because of space limitation for the reviewer to single out all the exhibitions that he would like to describe and analyze for his readers. Often he has found it necessary to submerge his personal enthusiasm for the work of certain artists and concern himself with large group exhibitions that are very important in the sense of timeliness, scope, or theme. Thus, much as he regrets having to do so, he has no choice but to omit from his review such outstanding exhibitions as that of Abraham Rattner at the Rosenberg Galleries, the Winslow Homer show at the Whitney Museum, Lev S. Landau's and Mitzi Solomon's first solo shows at the ACA and the American-British Art Center respectively, the Reginald Marsh show at the Rehn Gallery and such group shows as the recently held "Looking Forward and Backward" at the AAA, and the current one at the Durand Ruel, "Keleikian, as the Artist Sees Him."

The three most important shows now current are all group shows. They are: the Pepsi-Cola-sponsored Artists for Victory's "Portrait of America" at the Metropolitan Museum; the "Army at War" presented by the US Treasury Department and the US War Department at the Roxy Theater, and the "Tribute to President Roosevelt" exhibition sponsored by the Independent Voters Committee of Arts and Sciences for Roosevelt at the Fine Arts Gallery. Though different in sponsorship, these shows are thematically very much interrelated. They form three parts of one huge exhibition, the collective name of which could have been "The America of Our Time," for they all concern themselves with the immediate problems of our country: war, peace, politics, and the future.

The largest of the three is the sprawling "Portrait of America," badly housed at the Metropolitan—the largest and, I am sorry to say, the least satisfying. I say this fully aware that this important exhibition has been attacked by the bourgeois press. Much was expected from it. It was widely advertised; $11,000 in cash prizes were to be awarded; 5,000 pictures from all over the United States were submitted. It was to be (and it is) a milestone in American art history in the sense that it marks the entering of business into the field of art patronage on a national scale.

ALTHOUGH most of the pictures are landscapes and interiors portraying some phase of our daily life, the cumulative effort is like a portrait by a minor artist who clutters his picture with many details and misses the inner significance of his subject. The war that has so drastically changed the face of America seems to have scarcely affected the artist. It is like a patchwork quilt without a dominating idea. There are many good pictures at the exhibition by some of our outstanding artists: Avery, Becker, Bosa, Burliuk, Cikovsky, De Martini, Evergood, Gottlieb, Gropper, Gwathmey, Harriton, Jules, Kleinholz, Kuniyoshi, Levi, Levine, Marsh, Mommer, Peirce, Picken, Rattner, Reisman, Shahn, Sheeler, Sokole, Isaac Soyer, Spagna, Spencer, Stella, Tschacbasov, Walkowitz, Weber, Wilson, Zorach. But so many poor, amateurish pictures have found their way on the walls alongside the others that one wonders how the jury, having 5,000 pictures to select from, could be so undiscriminating. This raises the painful question of the jury system. Far be it from me to question its honesty, its democracy or its high intentions, but I know that many outstanding artists whose pictures were rejected will question its adequacy. This is a serious problem. It could perhaps be rectified somewhat in cases of national exhibitions if the country were divided artistically into zones, each with a jury of its own, the final jury to be located in the city where the exhibition is scheduled to take place. Thus the responsibil-

"Men Roosevelt Did Not Forget," by Max Weber. Part of the "Tribute to President Roosevelt" exhibit at the Fine Arts Gallery.

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ity of selecting pictures would be divided more equally and rest upon more people.

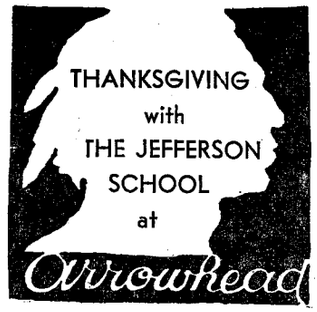
THE "Army at War" art exhibition consists of approximately 100 oils, gouaches, watercolors, and drawings by a group of American artists who were detailed or assigned by the US War Department to various theaters throughout the world to depict the activities of American soldiers, how they live and how they fight. It is a fine, carefully selected, and inspiring exhibition. In contrast to the "Portrait of America" show it is well presented, hung, and lighted, and housed in—of all places—the lounge of the Roxy Theater. This will enable many people who never go to art exhibitions to become acquainted with art of a higher standard than that unfortunately shown in department stores. The purpose of this exhibition, according to Secretary of War Stimson, is "to inspire a proud determination in all Americans to become an active part in this war in every possible way," and according to Secretary Morgenthau "to bring the sensation of a soldier's life to those who have never been soldiers." This the soldier artists do eloquently and with ability, if in somewhat too illustrative a manner. Among the pictures that stand out are the impressive portrait of Fletcher Martin by George Biddle, Howard Cook's dramatic "Penetrating the Jungle," Joe Jones' "Fishermen's Wives," Reginald Marsh's group of water colors, Mitchell Siporin's "Pantaleria," Rudolph Van Ripper's "Dead Soldier" and the paintings of Henry Varnum Poor—especially the two fine character studies of a major and a lieutenant. This exhibition demonstrates how important an artist could be as a recorder of events. The trouble with the exhibition is that the artists represented belong, as I said above, to the illustrative school of painting, and they seem in most cases to try to compete with the camera. They often fail—because the camera when ably used could describe the event more factually and tellingly than the artist. For example, there is a picture by Aaron Bohrod of a group of dead Japanese soldiers in the jungle. The artist painted the tropical foliage with the same attention to detail as he did the dead Japanese staring glassily into the sky. The whole picture is so realistic superficially that it does not evoke in us any emotion. One would like to see an artist, interpreting as well as reporting the happenings he paints. This is why it seems a pity that the government has seen fit not to accept artists of the type of Gropper, Evergood, and Anton Refregier, who were anxious to be a part of this project. The results would have been very interesting.

AND now we come to the artists' "Tribute to President Roosevelt." This too is a mixed, sprawling show. It is, however, imbued with a feeling of sincere admiration and gratitude to the first President who recognized the artist as an important part of American life. Although this show—like most large shows—is unequal and has pictures of dubious merit, the majority of the work is interesting and often unexpected. The photography is especially well selected and arranged and gives an intelligent picture of the progress of the Roosevelt administration since its beginning almost twelve years ago. The sculpture too is of a high caliber. It is dominated by a huge head of the President by Jo Davidson and a compact, impressive composition called "Builders of the Future" by William Zorach. Other sculptors represented are Nat Werner with "Free Speech," Richmond Barthe with an eloquent "The Negro Looks Forward," Hugo Robus with "To Each According to His Needs," and many others, among them Chaim Gross, Berta Margoulies, Aaron Goodelman, Marian Walton, and Robert Laurent.

As far as the painters are concerned the list is much too long to give here. It contains some of the most important American artists of an older generation such as John Sloan, George Biddle, Thomas Hart Benton, Leon Kroll, Charles Sheeler, Abraham Walkowitz, Helen West Heller, Max Weber, and Boardman Robinson. This exhibition is, on the whole, just what the artists wanted it to be: a stirring united tribute to their beloved President. Let us hope that the unity of the artists symbolizes the unity of the nation.

Before I close, I should like to mention the following people who worked long and untiringly for the success of this exhibition. Jo Davidson, Hugo Gellert, Robert Riley, Leo Hurwitz, June Steingart, Sandrea Goldstick and, above all, Henry Schnakenberg.

MR. VLADIMIR DE MARGOULIES of the Niveau Gallery started out the current Soutine exhibition as a celebration on the occasion of the artist's fiftieth birthday. It turns out, however, to be a memorial show—for Mr. De Margoulies received a letter dated Septem-



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SEE BACK COVER, TOO

ber 2 which confirms the death of Soutine. It goes without saying that the full responsibility for his death, like the death of so many of our great men, can be laid directly at the door of the Nazis.

The exhibition is uneven. It contains some pictures that Soutine, had he the chance, would probably have either destroyed or re-painted, as he often did—to the despair of the greedy art dealers: for Soutine was one of the most dissatisfied and self-critical of artists. A few of the pictures in the show rank, however, with the best that Soutine ever did, and that is saying not a little. Among them are "La Sieste" of 1932, a woman in a white blouse and red dress asleep under a tree. It is beautifully painted, daring in its distortion, in drawing, and color, modern in all respects, and yet strangely reminiscent of Courbet. It possesses all the haunting quality and the inner torment of Soutine's disturbed and troubled soul. The exhibition also contains a few landscapes so typical of him—as cataclysmic and full of turmoil as those of El Greco—and an early self portrait in muted grays and black which is soul revealing. Much has been written about this unique personality in modern art and much undoubtedly will be written. His early youth, like that of many other young men and women who came to Paris in the early part of the century full of youthful enthusiasm and brave hopes, was spent in distressing poverty. Success did not change him. He lived frugally, almost ascetically, and he was kind and helpful to the many young artists who came for advice and aid. I met him once in Paris and like everyone else was tremendously impressed by the spiritual quality and goodness that actually seemed to emanate from him. On seeing him for the first time one was tempted to exclaim: "Here is a man!" Artists all over the world will feel his loss deeply. His work, so entirely original, yet so expressive of his time, will live forever.

IF YOU are depressed or if things do not go well with you, or if you are upset by world events—go to see the exhibition of sculpture by Nat Werner at the ACA Galleries. Entirely devoted to song and dance, it is the gayest and most provocative show on 57th Street. It is also an exhibition of anticipation and celebration, for its underlying theme is the following quotation from Samuel: "When David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, the people came out, with tablets, with joy, and with instruments of music. . . ." Yes, soon the Americans and the Russians and the English and all the fighters for freedom will return home and the grateful people will greet them with song and dance. (What a fine theme this would make for a national exhibition, for an art organization like the Artists for Victory to sponsor.)

Nat Werner does not, like so many young sculptors, think in heroic terms. His work is intimate, rather small in size and highly personal. He knows what he wants to do in art and does not try to outdo or overreach himself. He also possesses a fine and kindly sense of humor and in the twenty-five small pieces of sculpture which comprise the exhibition he has masterfully captured the movement and rhythm of the dance in many of its forms and the spirit of song. I especially liked "Oh! What a Beautiful Morning," "Blues Singer," "Harmonica Player," "Girl at Concert," "Worker's Song"; while the charming, doll-like, somewhat gauche "Black, Black, Black," was always one of my favorites.

AN ACTOR COMES HOME

I JUST flew home from Italy where I spent six months on a USO tour. Vesuvius to Radio City in thirty-five hours! But the thing that really surprised me was the goings-on here in the election campaign. After six months of living and absorbing the total atmosphere of one war, one hate, suddenly coming home to find a bunch of guys and a glamor gal waging a different fight, stirring up a different hate, is pretty much of a shock. I think the boys over there would be a little sore about it. They want to lick Hitler and come home to their own sweet unbombed land of liberty, good beer, and fresh eggs. They want to be through hating, once this present job is done. And in the face of these hopes, this reactionary bunch in the Republican Party, instead of fighting fascism, is on a Red-smearing campaign; instead of keeping the unity to win a war, is trying to create disunity to win an election; and instead of helping toward world friendship is trying to foment a new hate for our

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boys to come home to. This is downright treachery to those fighters over there.

OUR USO troupe ate, slept, and traveled with the Allies in Italy. By jeep and truck we covered a lot of ground, a lot of outfits. Between their battles we gave them songs, dances, and laughs. And between that we talked with them. We got to know the way they feel about a lot of things. We got the feeling of a great common bond among the Allies fighting alongside each other. The Americans, the British, the Canadians, the French, the Poles, the Brazilians are a team. The Russian soldier isn't in Italy, but you get the feeling this powerful fellow is around. He's headlined pretty often in *Stars and Stripes* and *Union Jack*, and the boys don't have to be told what their fight would be without him. This warm feeling among them, this common purpose, gives them a good hope for the future. And what's happening there is a great thing. Hoover, Dewey, Hearst, and Luce mustn't louse it up.

It's hard to believe that they and their gang are "connected" with the people in America. I think the people are connected to the combat soldier; the fellow who is doing the fighting and the dying. He knows what he is fighting against. It's Hitlerism, and that's the only threat he's got in his life. He hopes that when that threat is destroyed, he, his family, America and the world will live in friendship, in peace and in freedom. That's what he's fighting *for*. When I came home to find Dewey calling President Roosevelt "Communistic," it was pretty cockeyed and different from what those guys over there are thinking. And when Mrs. Luce says that President Roosevelt lied us into the war, it's worse than cockeyed. It's treason. Our soldiers like their Commander-in-Chief. They like what he has done, what he is doing, what he will do. They like the way he's whipped the country into shape so that they're getting the guns, the planes, and the tanks they need. They like the way he flies over to talk with the other top leaders, Churchill and Stalin, to figure out the war and their future. They've got a good idea that there must be the same team work after the peace. Yes, they have confidence in their "top CO" —a warm feeling for him like that of a crew for its pilot on a bombing run. He'll take 'em through the flak. He's *molto buono*, as they say there. If he weren't reelected, it would seem as if they'd be left hanging on a tree. It would seem

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like a kind of repudiation of the things they think, the world they hope for. England, the Soviet Union, China, and all the other countries will be in that world, very much in it, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Dewey, Mrs. Luce. This thing called Teheran will grow, for its seeds are the men planted in the earth of Anzio, Stalingrad, and Bataan.

As I left the airport and flew over the Bay of Naples, over untouched Capri and Sorrento, heading for home and a glass of cold fresh milk, I kissed Italy goodby, maybe to come back another day when there won't be truck convoys grinding the roads to powder, soldiers slogging in rain and mud, when the docks of Naples, Civitavecchia, and Leghorn won't be piled up with guns and tanks, when nights will be quiet so that one can sleep without the roar of bombers, when the air will be free of that sickening cement dust from bombed towns drying in the sun; another day, when, from Italy's toe to her heel, up through Salerno, Cassino, Minturno, beyond the Volturno and Rapido Rivers, northward to the broad green valley of the Po . . . the blood will have seeped and dried beneath her tilled earth. I would like to go back, for Italy is a beautiful country, and with its own native loveliness there are long stretches of prairie land and stately mountains like our West, green rolling hills patterned in squares of corn and wheat, like Connecticut. Her people are warm and friendly. Theirs is a rich culture, a rich heritage. One day they will regain their stolen dignity in a world that will let them keep it.

Italy to New York in thirty-five hours. Truly "One World." But to find myself suddenly in New York with the *News* and the Hearst papers, listening to Dewey and Luce with their malicious lies, their phony accusations—well, I'm sore. The people here who have lived with and fought this sort of thing all through one of the dirtiest campaigns in history must be even sorer. I'm mighty grateful to that sweetheart of a four-motored job that got me back in time to register with them.

PAUL VILLARD.

Meet Kleagle Wolfe

(*Continued from page 6*)

state, in many ways, and indeed many Virginians and other Southerners settled in southern Indiana. White supremacists have been active in Indiana since the Civil War—but there has been militant

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Next Week
in
NEW MASSES
INSIDE SPAIN
by
ANTONIO MIJE

Deputy in the Cortes in 1936 and a member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party—writes exclusively for New Masses on the trend of affairs in Madrid. How strong is the Supreme Council of anti-Franco forces? Will there be a revolt soon? What are the Spanish Maquis doing? Mr. Mije answers these questions in an authoritative article that is must reading.

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opposition too, since the days when Gov. Oliver P. Morton put down a planned insurrection. Traditionally Indiana veers from Democrat to Republican. But always there is a raging battle at election time. This year the old Klan elements are bolder than they've been in years. They wear new labels and trappings, there is more money for them as they try to elect Dewey and Gates and Capehart—but they are old and familiar phenomena to the Hoosiers. This is why in Indiana the same forces which are among those behind Dewey throughout the country are so much more obviously pro-fascist. Here in Indiana we see race hatred in all its stink and corruption, we see it baldly for what it is, we see even the same faces on GOP platforms that in another era looked out from hoods and masks—or if they did not, directed those who did and made a profit from their terroristic acts. And we see these forces invariably working for Dewey, Gates, and Capehart.

In Indiana the usual GOP Red-baiting is accompanied by talk on so-called religious freedom. But the orators are too often the same who once pitted persons of one religious faith against another. They are old masters at divisive rabble-rousing, and they are attracting a few followers here and there. But there are many Hoosiers, too, who see behind them the smoke from burned Catholic churches, a background of Jewish merchants forced into bankruptcy, of night-riding and terrorism. And they know Dewey has not repudiated the Klan's assistance.

Correction

Two quotations which John Stuart used in his note of comment on the symposium on Germany (NEW MASSES, October 31) were inadvertently garbled by the printer. The sentence next to the last in the quotation from a speech by Dr. Hubert Ripka should read:

"Would it be possible, furthermore, to organize the security and economic prosperity of Europe without the assistance and participation of the United States?" The other quotation from Sumner Welles' book *The Time For Decision* should read: "In those pre-war years, great financial and commercial interests of the western democracies, including many in the United States, were firm in the belief that war between the Soviet Union and Hitlerite Germany could only be favorable to their own interests. They maintained that Russia would necessarily be defeated, and with this defeat Communism would be destroyed."

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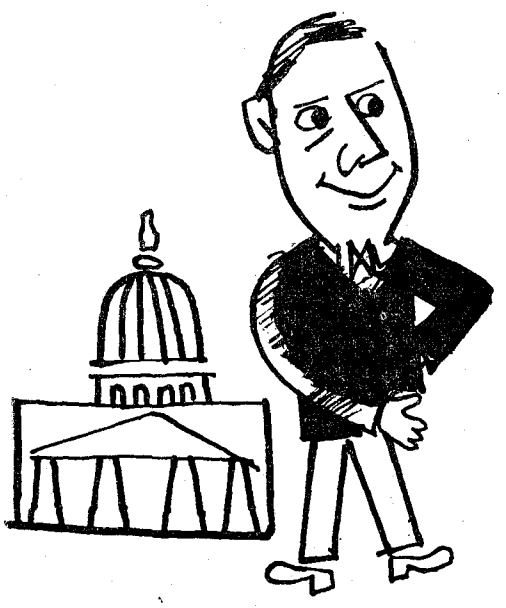

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